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Presented
in Memory of the late
Mr Balacrushna Venayek Wassoodew
by his family.
to
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDIAN WORTHIES.

VOL. I.

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INDIAN WORTHIES.

Vol. I.

" Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Foot-prints on the sands of time."

Psalm of Life—LONGFELLOW.

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PREFACE.

Hero-worship shines in biography. Life-stories, if they are well-written, have that instructive effect which is absent from even the best fiction. Bearing that fact well in their minds, the publishers have undertaken to submit, to the Indian public, life-stories of many eminent Indians, of the different provinces of India.

This, the first volume of the series, contains only four life-stories; because, the volume has been published especially for the Congress occasion; and further because, the publishers have wished to submit a specimen of the quality of the work which they hope to furnish.

As will be seen from the advertisement on the cover of this volume, the second volume will contain life-stories of many Indian worthies;—life-stories written by the best writers available to the publishers.

Sometimes, in the series, a life-story will be found, of which the subject will happen to be less well-known to one province than to another. But, the publishers hope that, as in the case of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, the merit will justify the selection.

The publishers trust that these life-stories of eminent Indians will meet with appreciative patronage from the Indian public.

It remains for the publishers to do the grateful duty of acknowledging the help they have ungrudgingly derived from different sources; and in so doing they must first offer their most hearty thanks to the learned

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contributors who have, at the sacrifice of their most precious time have willingly responded to the publishers' call as a call of duty, and worked for them with great zeal and interest.

THE MANORANJAK GRANTHA
PRASARAK MANDALI;
GIRGAON; BOMBAY.
20th, December, 1906.

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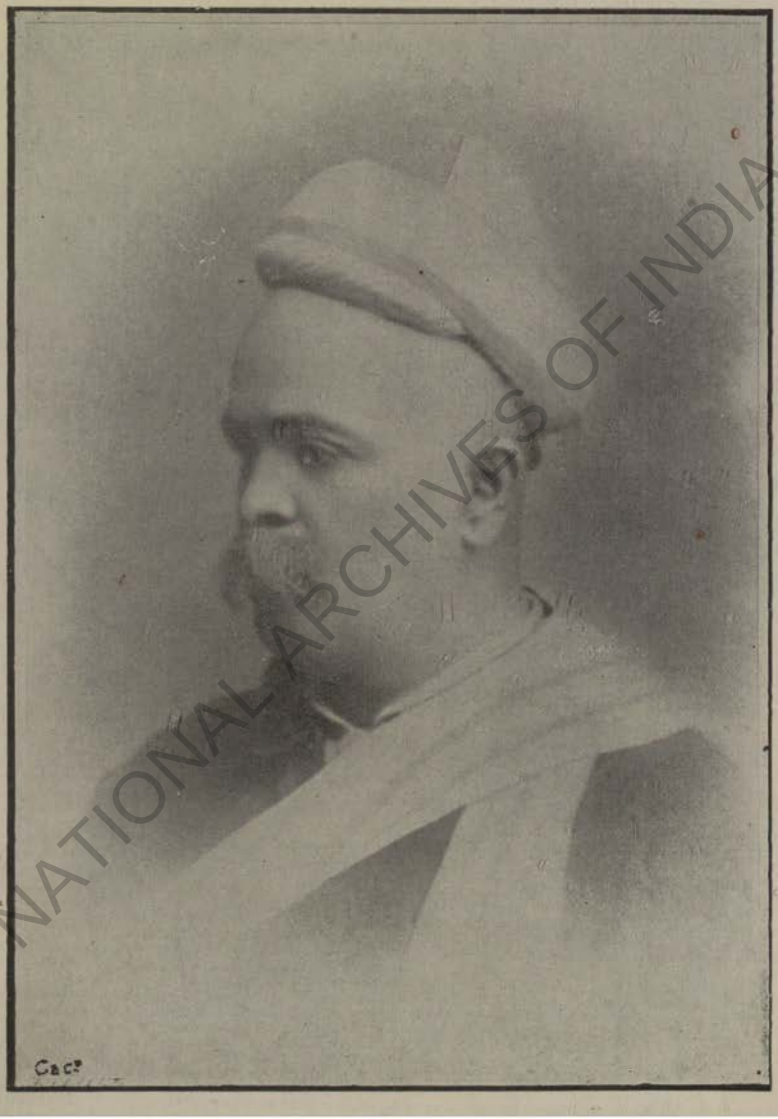

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MADHAV GOVIND RANADE.

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MADHAV GOVIND RANADE.

"Such a man is born once in an age," was said of Mr. Justice Ranade by a late Director of Public Instruction. It is now five years since that mighty heart ceased to beat and that mighty pulse ceased to throb. It seems, however, difficult to conceive and realise that the great Indian leader of the latter half of the 19th century has disappeared from our midst.

As there are certain epochs in the world's history that stand out distinct and prominent, signalizing great changes, forming mile-stones, indicating the distance run by the race, so do we mark at long intervals, the appearance of great men upon the stage of the world, with whom great movements are identified, and who stand out as turning posts, guiding the humble pilgrims on their way through life. Their appearance does not seem to be the result of mere accident or a casual phenomenon, but the sequence of an inscrutable moral law.

Whether they appear on the field of battle, amidst the roar of canon, or in the august council chamber, on the platform or in the pulpit, or in yet humbler spheres, they are all equally great and equally entitled to the reverence of posterity.

Such men appear like migratory planets in the firmament, illumine the skies for a short while and then pass away.

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Since the down-fall of the Peshwa's Government in 1818, and up to the year 1857, the history of Maharashtra presents a perfect blank. It was a period of complete national prostration, such as always supervenes the final extinction of one nation by another. The old order had disappeared, while the new order had not yet assumed any definite shape and form. The work of settling the country had only just commenced, when the avalanche of the mutiny convulsed the country from one end to the other.

The Western Presidency, however, entered upon an epoch of peace and uninterrupted progress immediately after the storm of the mutiny had subsided, and the Government of the whole of the Peninsula passed into the direct hands of the Crown.

With the establishment of the Universities, and the foundation of schools and colleges, the flood-gates of Western knowledge and learning were thrown open, and men were wanted who could, with discretion, direct and guide the floods into the proper channels.

As the first fruits of Western education and enlightenment, the Universities brought out a batch of young men, most of whom in after years attained to high positions in the services and professions. Amongst the first batch so brought out by the Bombay University, was a young man, who was the first in India to obtain the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws, and who in later years by his genius and intel-

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lectual achievements, obtained undisputed and universal recognition as the *"Prince of Indian Graduates"*.

This Prince of Indian Graduates and future statesman, judge, philosopher, reformer, and the recognised leader of Western India, was born at Niphad, a small town in the Nasik Collectorate, on Tuesday, the 18th January 1842.

The Ranades, originally came from Bhobhar Pachuri, in Chiplun Taluka, in the Ratnagiri District. The family migrated into the Maharashtra nine generations ago. The great-great-grand-father of the great-grand-father of Mr. Justice Ranade first settled at Karkamb near Pandharpur, under the protection of the Sardars Patwardhan. Mr. Ranade's great-grand-father Bhaskarrao, well known in the Maratha records, as "Appaji Bhagvant", was the representative of the Chief of Sangli at the Peshwa's Court. Bhaskarrao Appa's parents had twenty children, all, however, dying in infancy or child-hood. Appa's mother, a pious and God-fearing lady, performed the most severe and trying penances, and as a reward, as it were, for her penances, she gave birth, the twenty-first time, to Bhaskarrao Appa, who rose to eminence and lived to enjoy a green old age. Appa had four sons. Each of these sons had again four sons. One of Appa's sons named Amrit Appaji Ranade became a Mamlatdar in the Poona District.

Govindrao, the father of the hero of this sketch, was one of the four sons of Amritrao Appaji. Govind Amrit was for some years a Phadnis or assistant

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Mamlatdar in the Niphad Taluka of the Nasik District. Later on, he joined the service of the Kolhapur State and rose in that State from a Jababnis and Mamlatdar to a Khasgi Karbhari or Master of the House-hold. Govindrao joined the Kolhapur service after Madhavrao was born at Niphad. His family shortly followed him there.

It was on this journey, on the high road from Ambegaon to Kolhapur, that Madhavrao, then a child of three years, met with an accident, which, had it proved fatal, would have deprived India of the benefits of the services of one of her ablest and noblest sons. The party consisted of Madhavrao and his sister, both little children of three and two years of age, their mother Gopikabai, and uncle Vithalrao, with one peon. Those were days, when railway communication had not been introduced into this country. Horses and bullock-carts were the only conveyances then known and available.

The Ranade party was on its way from Ambegaon to Kolhapur. It was a dark night. Gopikabai lay fast asleep with her two little ones by her side in the bullock-cart. Vithalrao followed the cart at a distance of about a mile. As the cart was crossing a shaded tract, little Madhav slipped out of the cart and fell on the road. Neither the peon walking along-side of the cart, nor the driver noticed the child falling, and the cart proceeded on its way. A short time after, as Vithalrao rode past the spot, the

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child hearing the sound of the horse's hoofs, realised its position, and recognising its uncle, cried out "Uncle I have fallen here!" Vithalrao could scarcely believe his ears. There was no cart within hearing or even in sight. Not a single person was on the road. He dismounted, and to his intense consternation he found Madhav lying on the road, to all appearance perfectly pleased with his adventure.

It is awful to contemplate what would have happened, had Vithalrao not been following the cart, or had the child not cried out at the sound of the horse's hoofs; the child would have in all probability been devoured by the wolves, then existing in troops in those parts.

Vithalrao lifted up the child, and spurring his horse, soon joined the cart. The mother, the peon, the driver, were all unconscious of the absence of the child. Vithalrao awakened the mother, and asked her if she had with her both her little ones. Poor lady! As she felt about her for Madhav, her horror and consternation may be better imagined than described. It could only have been equalled by her delight and joy when her darling child was placed in her arms, none the worse for the wonderful feat it had performed!

It is a favourite theory of some persons that men who have greatly distinguished themselves in later life were uncommonly dull boys. If the theory is believed as a curious, though general, law of nature, little Madhav was certainly an exception.

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It may, however, be mentioned here that until he was six years of age, Madhavrao found it an insuperable difficulty to articulate correctly the Marathi gutturals. He would use linguals for gutturals and pronounce "k", as "t", "kh" as "th", "g" as "d", "gh" as "dh", "ngh" as "n". His mother felt great anxiety by reason of this defect in the child's articulation. She underwent many penances and observed a number of fasts, praying to Saraswati, the goddess of learning, for the removal of this defect. At the seventh year of his age, this defect disappeared. There was great joy and festivity in the family when the child for the first time pronounced the gutturals properly.

Madhavrao received the rudiments of learning in the Marathi School of Pandoba Tatya Divekar at Kolhapur. At this time, through the exertions of the late Rao Bahadur Nana Moroji (who subsequently was Minister at Indore an) Anglo-Vernacular school was established in that town. Madhavrao soon joined this school, then presided over by Atmaram Balkrishna. His English tutor was Krishnaji Chaphaji, a Prabhu gentleman.

Madhavrao's colleagues and playmates in those school days were the boys from the Kirtane family, Vinayakrao Kirtane (subsequently, a Rao Bahadur and Naib Diwan at Baroda and Diwan at Indore), Trimbakrao Kirtane and Balvantrao Kirtane. Vinayakrao Kirtane's father was the principal Karbhari or Diwan

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at Kolhapur, while Madhavrao's father was Khasgi Karbhari under him.

Both the boys, Madhavrao Ranade and Vinayakrao Kirtane, lived in terrible awe of their parents. If Madhavrao desired to obtain any particular thing from his father, the arduous mission of communicating the request of the son to the father would be undertaken by Vinayakrao, and *vice versa*. The friendship thus formed in early childhood between these two young boys deepened as the years rolled on, and it only terminated at the death of Vinayakrao in 1891.

Madhavrao studied in the Kolhapur school from 1851 to 1856. Instruction in higher education was not then available at Kolhapur. It was considered extremely hazardous, and perhaps impolitic, to send young boys to Bombay, a city with such temptations, and then at such an enormous distance from Kolhapur. There was then as great hesitation on the part of parents to send their young children for their education away to Bombay, as there is in these days to send them to Europe.

Bombay was at such an enormous distance from Kolhapur, there were so many temptations in the way of young students in that great city, and there were such perils on the long journey by the high road, that one can very well understand the extreme reluctance felt by parents to permit their children to leave their homes for such a distant and fearful city. Then again,

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there was no necessity whatever to take any such leap in the dark.

Competition in the services there was little or none. Boys, who had received the little education that Kolhapur could afford, could easily get respectable berths in the services, and this was more especially easy in the case of boys from families with such connections, position, and distinction as the Ranades and the Kirtanes. What greater ambition could a parent have than to see his son well-berthed in some office with a quill behind his ear! It was all a father could wish to see, and a mother long for. Where was the necessity to risk this peaceful and happy career for the sake of such speculative and imagined advantages as higher education in Bombay might secure! Thus thought the parents, but the ambitions of the little children lay in other directions.

The Kirtane boys were about to be sent to Bombay, and Vinayakrao appealed to Govindrao to permit his son Madhavrao to accompany them. The permission was granted and Madhavrao and the Kirtane boys came to Bombay. They were admitted in the second class, then presided over by Mr. (now Khan Bahadur) Kaikhushru Hormasji Alpaiwala, subsequently Small Cause Court Judge at Surat.

In a few months, Madhavrao was promoted to the upper class presided over by Messrs. Smith and Bates.

In 1856 Madhavrao was admitted into the Elphinstone Institute (now Elphinstone College), and in the

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following two years he obtained scholarships of Rs. 10, 15 and 20 per month. In 1857, the University of Bombay was established and at the first Matriculation examination of that University held in 1859, Madhavrao appeared as a candidate and passed with credit. From 1860 to 1866 he was a Junior Fellow for the first three years, and Senior Fellow for the next three, when he received stipends of Rs. 60 and Rs. 125 per mensem, respectively. In 1861 he passed in the Little-go Examination. The following year, he passed with honours, simultaneously in the First and Second B. A. examinations. In 1866 he passed in both the LL. Bs. with honours.

At this period, the young student worked so hard that the abnormal strain upon his eyes permanently impaired his sight, more especially of his right eye, which since then became practically useless to him.

Madhavrao had a distinguished College career, passing the B. A. and LL. B. examinations with honours; and coming out first, he obtained from the University, prizes of books of the value of Rs. 200 in each examination.

Sir Alexander Grant, the then Principal of the Elphinstone College, was so much struck with the depth of thought and mastery of the English language exhibited by his favourite student Madhavrao in his writings, that the old principal, with legitimate gratification and pride, sent some of his essays to

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Universities in England where they met with deserved approbation.

When Madhavrao was appointed Professor of History in the Elphinstone College, he laid under contribution all the books on history that were in the library during the course of a month and a half! His lectures were so exhaustive and profound that even the Principal of the College became a regular attendant at his classes.

Madhavrao was also for some time Assistant Professor of English literature on a salary of Rs. 400 a month, and his English lectures were also equally attractive and learned. His students and colleagues on the professorial staff showed their admiration and appreciation of the young Professor's work by presenting him with a gold watch and chain.

From 1862-66, Madhavrao edited the English columns of the *Indu Prakash*, then the leading Anglo-Vernacular Journal in Western India. From 1866 to November 1867, he was officiating Marathi Translator in the Educational Department. His masterly review of Marathi publications attracted the special attention of Government and of the public; and it is to this day quoted and relied upon as a scholarly and authoritative epitome of Marathi bibliography. Thirty years later, in 1899, he contributed a series of articles on modern Marathi literature to the columns of the "*Times of India.*" It will suffice to observe here that these contributions are well worthy of their author. During 1867-68, Madhavrao served as Karbhari at Akalkot

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and as Chief Justice at Kolhapur. In 1869, he was appointed to the post of Assistant Reporter to the Bombay High Court. Though now fully occupied with his departmental work, Madhavrao did not cease to be a student, as indeed he continued to be to the last day of his life. Undaunted by the great pain and suffering he had to undergo on account of his eyes, he persisted in his studies despite his impaired sight, such as was left to him, and he passed in 1871 the Advocate's examination of the Bombay High Court, thus completing the full course of examinations in Arts and Laws, and obtaining the title of the "Prince of Indian Graduates," a title he, by his subsequent scholarship, deservedly retained unchallenged. At the close of 1871, Madhavrao was appointed Third Presidency Magistrate at Bombay. He was also for some time Fourth Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay. From Bombay he was sent to Poona where he was officiating Subordinate Judge of the First Class, First Grade. In 1873 he was made Principal Sadar Ameen, Poona, on a salary of Rs. 800 per month. His work was so satisfactory that very soon appeal powers were conferred on him by the High Court.

The Deccan was, in the next few years that now followed, in a very disturbed condition. Dacoities and riots were the order of the day. The notorious Vasudeo Balvant, Harya Ramoshi, and other outlaws infested the Districts of Poona, Satara and Sholapur. Incendiarism followed in the train of these dacoities, culminating

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in the fearful conflagrations in Poona on the night of Tuesday, the thirteenth May 1879, by which two public and historic buildings were completely destroyed. These buildings were the Vishram Bag and Budhwar palaces of the Peshwas, with which historical traditions of a glorious past were inseparably connected, and which, having been after the establishment of the British power in Poona consecrated to learning, carried with them other associations of a more enduring and potent character.

The lawlessness in the Deccan followed the deposition of H. H. Malharrao Gaikwad of Baroda on the suspicion of attempting to poison Col. Pheyre, the then British Resident at Baroda. There was nothing to show that Malharrao's attempt to poison the British Resident or the Poona conflagrations had any connection, one with the other. But, the Government of Bombay caught the panic, and the Members of Council could see nothing but sedition and disaffection underlying the two apparently unconnected events. Educated natives were suspected of being engaged in deep machinations, and no wonder Madhavrao's movements received the special and watchful attention of the Government of Sir Richard Temple.

Madhavrao's serene temper and equanimity of mind were, however, never ruffled or disturbed by Sir Richard's unfounded suspicions, or by the persecution to which he was subjected; and never even a word of complaint against Sir Richard, or the Government,

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escaped his lips. He had faith in the purity of his own conduct and he was confident that time, which heals all wounds, would clear away whatever suspicions might have been entertained about his conduct. Happily, before Sir Richard left India, the leaders of the dacoits and the incendiaries were arrested and put upon their trial. There was not a shred of evidence to connect educated natives or their "Prince" with the dacoities or incendiarism. At the trial, Vasudeo Balvant, the fanatic leader of the dacoits, produced his diary written up from day to day, and there was not a single word or indication to show that he even so much as ever knew Madhavrao Ranade.

From January to March 1881, Madhavrao officiated as a Presidency Magistrate in Bombay. He was again sent back to Poona as Principal Sadar Ameen. Madhavrao's uprightness, thorough impartiality, and transcendent abilities had long since been recognised by the High Court. He was often complimented by the High Court Judges upon his luminous and learned judgments, and Sir Micheal Westropp frequently wrote to him complimentary and commendatory letters. Indeed, the Chief Justice upon one occasion observed in open Court, "Rao Bahadur Ranade deserves to sit by us and adorn the High Court Bench." It would be as impossible to refer to all the weighty and learned judgments of Mr. Ranade, as it would be to enumerate with any accuracy the multifarious subjects upon which he has spoken or written. The curious might, however, with advantage

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refer to his judgments in the celebrated cases, amongst others, of the Hapas Bag at Junnar, the Chinchwad adoption, and Bayabai Maharaja's maintenance.

In 1884, Madhavrao Ranade was made a Small Cause Court Judge at Poona on a salary of Rs. 1,000. In 1886, he was appointed to the post; of Special Judge under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act. Covenanted Civilians of the rank of the District and Sessions Judges only were appointed to this post, but it was in recognition of Madhavrao's great ability and distinguished services, although he was a native and a Maratha Brahman to boot, that he was selected for the vacancy caused by the retirement of Dr. Pollen. It was soon found that the choice was a very happy one, and that the right man was put in the right place. No one could have studied the problem of agricultural indebtedness more thoroughly than Mr. Ranade, and it was only fitting that the important and difficult task of regulating the working of the New Relief Act should have been entrusted to such capable hands. Some of Madhavrao's judgments in cases under the Act are monuments of erudition and learning, and are guiding lights in interpreting and understanding the spirit of special agricultural legislation. Madhavrao's deep study of Indian finance and other political and economical problems had long before this attracted the attention of Government officials. Indeed, so far back as 1871, when a Committee of Inquiry on Indian expenditure was sitting in London, and a proposal was made to examine Indian

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witnesses before it, Madhavrao's name was suggested from all quarters and fully approved by the Government. Unfortunately, the proposal fell through and no Indian witnesses were called or examined. Ever since he was first installed in the editorial chair of the *Indu Prakash*, Madhavrao was a versatile contributor to the Indian press. In the columns of the leading journals and periodicals, he had discussed some of the most difficult and complicated problems of Indian finance and economics. In consequence of his great reputation as the ablest student and thinker, he was nominated a Member of the Finance Committee. The Government of Bombay recognised his services on that Committee by conferring on him the insignia of the "Companion of the Indian Empire" in February 1877. He had previously been made a Rao Bahadur. His Excellency Lord Reay first nominated him to be an Additional Member of the Legislative Council in 1885. This was soon followed by his elevation to the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta. On the eve of his retirement Lord Reay marked his appreciation of Madhavrao's services by again nominating him to his Council in 1890. Three years later Lord Harris nominated him to the Bombay Council for the third time.

Madhavrao's work in the Council was such as was expected from him, and only from him. His speeches and minutes on the various measures that from time to time were placed on the Council Board were, as was usual with all his utterances, replete with

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a store of invaluable information, and were marked by a dignity, both in style and argument, that he alone could command. The public studied his utterances with affectionate and devoted reverence, and the Government listened to them with a respect that none other before him could command, nor after him has commanded. A recent incident illustrative of the respect the highest officers of Government always paid to Madhavrao's views on public questions may here be mentioned. We shall respect confidence by not publishing the name. When the proposal to examine Indian witnesses before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was made, an eminent and most distinguished English official Member informed the Secretary of State that "the only person in India, who had really mastered Indian financial problems, and who could throw the clearest light on the inquiry, and in other ways render the best assistance, was Mr. Justice Ranade." This appreciation was enthusiastically endorsed by Lord Curzon. Upon reading Mr. Ranade's essays on "Indian Economics," the Viceroy himself wrote to the author expressing his warm admiration of and full agreement with the views propounded in the scholarly work. Similar commendations were received from different Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Members of Parliament, and European *savants*. If we were allowed the privilege of publishing even a tenth part of the number of commendatory communications that were on various occa-

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sions addressed to Mr. Ranade by officials and non-officials in the highest and most exalted positions, we might perhaps succeed in conveying to the reader some idea of the respect and reverence he deservedly commanded. But the privilege cannot be secured and we must rest content with the knowledge of what little has, despite the most zealous care on his part to keep all such communications as close a secret as possible, leaked out. It is impossible to give a list of all the writings and speeches of Mr. Ranade. Their name is legion and they embrace all conceivable subjects from questions of social reform, finance, industries, economics, religious reform, philosophy and Maratha history, to even such special questions as the cultivation and manufacture of cotton, the exploitation of iron and gold mines &c. Even Mr. Ranade himself found it difficult to give a complete list of his voluminous writings and speeches. An eminent statesman once rightly called him "a living encyclopædia." Some of his best contributions on political questions still remain un-identified. If all his writings and speeches were published in a compact form, the work would extend over six or seven volumes.

Mr. Ranade was latterly engaged in writing a history of the Marathas, and from the few chapters that were printed for private circulation, all those who read them thought that, when complete, the work would be unique of its kind, unequalled and unsurpassed. Many English historians have written upon the Maratha

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period, but none has appreciated and few have fully understood the real significance of the movements and institutions that brought about and sustained the Maratha revolution. When, happily for us, Mr. Ranade undertook the task of writing a history of the Marathas, we were certain that much that was hitherto passed over, misunderstood, or even misrepresented, would be revealed and explained by a master mind, but alas, it was not to be.

Mr. Ranade had received repeated invitations from the Chiefs of many important Native States to join their service, but to all he returned a respectful refusal. After the deposition of Malharrao Gaikwad, the administration of the Baroda State was entrusted by the British Government into the hands of the late Raja Sir T. Madhavrao. The Raja set about his Herculean task of cleansing the Augean stables of Baroda by getting together to work with him a band of earnest and able administrators, amongst whom were Khan Bahadur Kazi Shahabuddin, Mr. Pestanji Jahangir and Rao Bahadur Vinayakrao Kirtane. Raja Sir T. Madhavrao was very anxious to secure the services of Mr. Ranade and he urged him to join the Baroda State, as Chief Justice, on a salary of Rs. 2,000. But the offer was declined. The late H. H. Tukojirao Holkar of Indore had, upon the retirement of Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunathrao, offered the Dewan-ship at Indore, worth Rs. 3,500 a month, to Mr. Ranade without avail. The offer was again renewed by the ex-Maharaja Shivajeerao upon the

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retirement of the late Vinayakrao Kirtane with the same result. H. H. Sayajirao Maharaja Gaikwad also repeatedly offered his Dewan-ship with Rs. 6,000 a month to Mr. Ranade without success.

In 1893, Lord Harris recommended Mr. Ranade for the Puisne Judgeship of the Bombay High Court, rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Telang, and Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to appoint him to that distinguished office. To say that Mr. Ranade fully deserved the distinction conferred on him would be to make a very common-place observation. Indeed, those who knew his previous career, the brilliancy of which was only equalled by its nobility, felt that the distinction was by no means too early in coming. No appointment in India had ever been hailed with such universal acclamation as that of Mr. Ranade to a Judgeship of the Bombay High Court. The Government of Lord Harris were congratulated for their excellent selection more than the recipient of the distinction. The announcement called forth great enthusiasm all over India, and the jubilation of Poona knew no bounds. Mr. Ranade may be said to be the father and maker of modern Poona. The high position in public activity that ancient and historic place has attained in modern times, is solely due to the patient and earnest efforts of its venerable patron. Mr. Ranade lived in Poona continuously for over 15 years, and it is no exaggeration to say that almost all the social, political, and industrial institutions of that town owe their establishment and

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rise to his conception and watchful guidance. He loved Poona as if it was his birth-place. For Poona he made a great sacrifice of his time, money, and health. For Poona he rejected many an enviable offer from Native States. It was with deep and sincere regret that after more than fifteen years' noble work, he left Poona to occupy a seat on the Bench of the Bombay High Court. What wonder that for eight successive days there were illuminations and great festivities in Poona in commemoration of Mr. Ranade's elevation. Banquets, meetings and addresses followed in an uninterrupted round, and they would have gone on for more than a month, had not Mr. Ranade suddenly and without any intimation left for Bombay. On the eve of his departure from Poona, with his usual magnanimity, Mr. Ranade placed a sum of Rs. 25,000 in the hands of his friends for the benefit of the various educational and charitable institutions of Poona.

After his death, he left a donation of another sum of Rs. 25,000 for the benefit of the educational, social, and theistic institutions in Poona and Bombay. Mr. Ranade's charities were known to few persons. At one time he would assist a school in some remote village; at another, he would supply books to some impecunious student. His right hand knew naught of what the left hand did.

A great man, perhaps the greatest amongst us in our time, Mr. Ranade was also the most unostentatious person one could ever come across. All persons,

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however lowly and in whatever grades of society, had always free access to him.

I remember that on one occasion in Bombay, in the year 1896, while Mr. Ranade was dictating an important judgment, a precocious school-boy came up and expressed his desire to discuss the social reform question with him. Mr. Ranade, to my surprise, quietly laid aside the file of the case, and for nearly two hours listened and replied to the silly nonsense of the school-boy. After the boy had gone away, I happened to observe that this school-boy had wasted Mr. Ranade's valuable time. Mr. Ranade quietly told me that he did not mind that his time was wasted, but he regretted to notice the influences that led school-boys to neglect their studies and become agitators and politicians. He observed that it was better to combat wayward precociousness by argument than repress it by authority.

At all informal or public meetings and gatherings Mr. Ranade would invariably and studiously keep himself in the back-ground, and he would not open his mouth until all others had had their say.

Mr. Ranade had no consciousness of his own transcendent abilities. He would submit his writings to the criticism of persons who could hardly understand them. For instance, in the year 1895, Mr. Ranade dictated to me a very able paper on the objects and aspirations of young India. The whole of the paper was dictated by Mr. Ranade in the morning in a quarter of an hour. In the evening, Mr. Ranade had called a number of friends

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to consider and discuss the draft. Mr. Ranade, however, without explaining to his friends that the draft had been dictated by him, simply asked me to read it to them, and he asked his friends to suggest the necessary modifications and alterations in the draft. To my great amusement some of the officious Rao Bahadurs suggested a number of stupid amendments, of which I took no notice. Mr. Ranade, who before this time was sitting at a considerable distance from me, observing that I took no notice whatever of the amendments suggested, walked over to where I was sitting and simply asked me to accept the amendments that were suggested. After the meeting had dispersed, I told Mr. Ranade that the amendments would hopelessly spoil the draft. Mr. Ranade then told me that he himself had no idea of accepting the amendments, nor did he believe that the persons, who had proposed the amendments, had given any thought to the subject, but it was a good thing to submit your draft to the criticism of your friends.

I may mention here another personal incident indicating Mr. Ranade's simplicity of character, as also his absolute indifference to praise or flattery. I had once written an article in a Bombay Anglo-Gujarathi journal, of which I was then Chief Editor, on Mr. Ranade's speech on "Revival and Reform." In this article, at the commencement I had given expression to my feelings of admiration for Mr. Ranade's work. The same evening I happened to call upon Mr. Ranade, when he asked me

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to read to him the morning papers. After reading other papers, I began to read the paper in which the above article appeared. Mr. Ranade listened to the reading of the first few lines and he asked me to keep it aside and read another paper observing "This is all poetry. Better read the 'X' paper" (which paper was noted for its venomous and rabid opposition to Mr. Ranade).

Mr. Ranade knew of no enemies. He was above entertaining a feeling of bitterness or resentment even against the worst of his calumniators. During the greater part of his life-time bitter and angry controversies raged around him, but he always remained calm and patient, and perfectly unruffled by any abuse or vituperation, however coarse and vulgar it was. In all the years of his active public life there was not a single occasion on which a word of irritation, animosity, rebuke, or even of protest escaped his lips.

Sometimes, though very rarely, he used to feel sorrowful that he was so greatly misunderstood by his opponents. I know of only one such occasion. The capture of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha by the Poona reactionaries had almost rent his heart. After very great hesitation, Mr. Ranade gave his consent to the request of his followers to start a rival institution to be worked on the old lines. The subject was discussed at a social gathering in my garden near Poona called the 'Toddy Garden,' and it was decided that a new institution named the 'Deccan Sabha' should be established. Upon this, a well-known reactionary Poona journal

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published an article full of malicious, violent and personal attack on Mr. Ranade. Amongst a number of misrepresentations in this article there was a suggestion to the effect that the new Sabha was started by Mr. Ranade out of pique and spite, and very probably while the party was under the influence of the juice of the toddy trees growing in that garden.

When I read the above article to him, Mr. Ranade looked very much pained, and observed sadly, "I cannot understand why I am so much misunderstood. Perhaps, I am wrong and they are right, although, God knows, I try to do right." He then repeated the story of Tukaram, who had gratuitously undertaken to watch a farmer's field and who only succeeded in ruining the farmer by charitably allowing the birds, he was specially engaged to keep away, to eat up the crop.

At the first introduction, Mr. Ranade appeared reserved and brusque to strangers. His broad and projecting forehead, his commanding figure, and his massive personality impressed everybody, but these features appeared to decline on closer intercourse.

Mere society did not appeal to him. Those who were privileged to enjoy his intimacy could appreciate the nobility, the simplicity and the majesty of his nature. There never was a man more unassuming, more unconscious of self, more simple, more child-like, than Mr. Ranade. Extremely severe and even unjust to himself, his leniency and justice to others leaned to a fault.

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Once Mr. Ranade was travelling to Madras in a first class compartment. The train had stopped at Sholapur, and Mr. Ranade was walking about on the platform. A European passenger entered the carriage, and noticing that his fellow-passenger who was walking on the platform was a native, chucked out of the window Mr. Ranade's things, trunks, bedding and all. When Mr. Ranade's servant informed him of this, he quietly observed, "Well, I suppose, this gentleman does not like my company; put my things in your compartment and I dare say I shall be more comfortable there." The episode, however, did not end as satisfactorily as Mr. Ranade wished it should, as some of his friends who were travelling with him by the same train resented the insult, and reported the matter to the station-master; but the station-master declined to interfere. When the station-master and the eccentric passenger learnt that the native was a Judge of the High Court, they came to Mr. Ranade and humbly offered him their profuse apologies. Mr. Ranade took no further notice of the incident. Five years later, he received a letter from a retired officer in which the writer repeated his apologies and expressed his unbounded admiration for Mr. Ranade's patience. "*I have learnt from you a lesson which was not taught to me while I was in India,*" wrote this officer the gentleman who had insulted Mr. Ranade.

As another typical instance of Mr. Ranade's patience and forbearance, I may mention that in the

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year 1899 Mr. Ranade wrote his judgment in the well-known case of the murder of Mr. Rand by the Chaphekar brothers and entrusted it for being posted to a young boy who was his ward. This boy, like other school-boys of the time, had strong sympathies for the assassins. Mr. Ranade's judgment had rejected the appeal of the assassins. The boy on his way to the Post Office was probably approached by the agents of the Poona reactionaries, and he, instead of posting the judgment which was addressed to Mr. Justice Parsons, the colleague of Mr. Ranade, directed it to some of the friends of the Chaphekar murderers at Poona. Naturally the contents of Mr. Justice Ranade's judgment were known all over Poona before Mr. Ranade's colleague on the Bench knew anything about it.

Mr. Ranade quietly wrote another judgment and forwarded it to his colleague explaining how his first judgment had been abstracted; but he did nothing to the boy beyond offering a few words by way of reprimand and to the last he kept the boy with him in his house faithfully discharging the trust that had been imposed upon him by the boy's father.

Mr. Ranade's industry was phenomenal from his School and College days to the very last hour of his life. He would rise in the morning at 6-30 and go out for a short walk for half an hour. He would then begin dictating his judgments till ten o'clock. After half an hour's respite he would take his meals and go to Court. Leaving the Court at five o'clock he would walk

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home for two or three miles and then read the daily newspapers, both English and Indian. He not only subscribed to every English and Indian newspaper but he regularly read most of them. He would then hear read a few pages from some book and dictate notes. After dinner he would retire to his bedroom and there again his wife would read to him for an hour or two. During all these interminable readings and dictations he would receive visitors and talk with them on all sorts of subjects. His Sundays and holidays were his real working days. On holidays he would continuously sit up for hours at a stretch and dictate some essay or speech or hear read the latest book received by the English Mail. His amanuenses, therefore, naturally avoided seeing him on Sundays and holidays.

Once I observed to Mr. Ranade that it would be better for his health if he retired and took some rest and I quoted the words of Mr. Gladstone that "it was not intended by Providence that the bow should be always bent." Mr. Ranade told me that he was so long used to work that rest would kill him and the more he worked the more cheerful he felt.

A few hours before his death Mr. Ranade, while taking his evening meals as usual, received a telegram announcing the death of Kanti Chandra Mukerji, the Dewan of Jaipur, and he observed to his wife, "what a happy death to die while one is working!" No one thought that within only a couple of hours Mr. Ranade also would "die while working."

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On the evening of the 16th of January 1901, Mr. Ranade returned from Court, and had a drive and a short walk with his wife. After coming home he heard a chapter of Justin McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times" read out to him. He then received two or three visitors and had a long conference with them about a certain widow-remarriage that was to be celebrated on the following day. He particularly asked his wife to invite Lady Northcote to attend the ceremony. Mrs. Ranade by a curious prognostication of the coming calamity said that she would go to the Government House if Mr. Ranade's health was all-right. Mr. Ranade laughed at the idea of his being ill and said that there was nothing the matter with him. He felt more cheerful than usual and he telephoned to his doctor not to attend that day. He had a few hymns from the Prarthana Samaj Prayer Book sung to him and he went to bed at 9-40 P. M. At 10-15 he suddenly awoke and complained of a slight pain in the region of the heart. In a quarter of an hour, before the doctor could arrive he expired. The most eloquent eulogy of Mr. Ranade's character is contained in the remark of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in his address from the Bench: "And now he has gone before us, but his memory will ever live with us as a cherished possession, for he has left behind him a precious heritage, the example to us all of a simple, guileless and noble life."

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Ever since the time he first edited the English columns of the *Indu Prakash* in 1866, Mr. Ranade had been incessantly and devotedly working in the cause of reform and progress in India. It was at Mr. Ranade's suggestion and under his advice that the idea of the Provincial and Industrial Conferences was so successfully carried out. His advice to political reformers had always been "Proceed with moderation and on lines of constitutional agitation."

It is impossible to adequately acknowledge the invaluable assisstance and advice our foremost leaders have at all times received from the great statesman. Professor Murison of the University College, London, once observed to me that he believed that Mr. Ranade was the real head and mainspring of all progressive movements in India. It is needless to say that the healthy tone of all the good and noble elements in public movements in India owe their inspiration to his foresight and sober and thoughtful direction. Ever since 1870, and up to the very last day of his life, Mr. Ranade directly and indirectly guided all the public and constitutional movements in India. He gave no countenance whatever to rabid and disloyal agitations.

Mr. Ranade was the life and soul, if not the actual founder, of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, an institution which for nearly a quarter of a century represented the best thought of modern educated India. It is true that at first this institution like many others of its kind was looked upon by the Government and by the official classes

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with distrust and suspicion as being a seditious body, if not actually a secret society. In a very few years, however, owing to Mr. Ranade's association with the institution, and his personal influence, all distrust and suspicion about the Sabha's aims and objects entirely disappeared, and even the most conservative officials recognised the sobriety of the representations addressed by the Sabha to Government on various subjects, from time to time.

The *Times of India*, which was and is the best and ablest Anglo-Indian journal published in India, after perusing the first few numbers of the Sabha's journal, admitted that there was no ground whatever for the suspicion about the Sabha's aims which prevailed in some quarters. The Sabha, no doubt, freely discussed different measures of Government, and the criticism was very thorough-going and effective, but the *Times* could not see anywhere evidence that the right of Government to the obedience and support of the population was ever called in question.

The Government of Bombay and the Government of India, during the time that Mr. Ranade was the guiding spirit of the Sabha, always received its representations with respect, and it was only after Mr. Ranade left the helm, that the Sabha fell into discredit and disgrace.

It is not possible within the limits of this short sketch to refer to, and much less discuss, the numberless contributions of Mr. Ranade on questions affecting the public weal. I can only say that those who desire to

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study present economic problems cannot do better than study Mr. Ranade's contributions in the journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha. In the early nineties, the reactionaries in Poona, succeeded in capturing the Sabha by questionable tactics and it was with a feeling of personal pang that Mr. Ranade decided to sever his connection with an institution, which he had nursed and so long trained as his own child.

In the year 1895, Mr. Ranade gave his consent to the formation of a new institution which would faithfully represent the views of the moderate school. Accordingly, a gathering of the reform party in Poona was held in the writer's garden at Mundhava, where Mr. Ranade, in an able though unfortunately unreported speech, pointed out the lines on which the public, progressive and constitutional movements in India should proceed. As a result of this gathering the Deccan Sabha was founded. This Sabha did valuable work during the famine of 1898, much in the same way that the Sarvajanik Sabha had done in the famine of 1876-77. Unfortunately, this very useful institution had a short-lived existence and had not the strength to survive the demise of the great leader.

Mr. Ranade was the chief and trusted adviser and referee of all pioneers of modern manufacturing industries in Western India. His wide knowledge of the economic conditions of the country, as also his limited purse were always at the disposal of promoters of new industrial concerns. In Poona itself, it was mainly

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owing to his efforts and assistance that the paper mills, the cotton and silk mills, the Deccan Commercial and Mercantile Banks, the Metal Factories, and the various other public institutions were founded. Mr. Ranade's advice and assistance were eagerly sought for and were always readily secured by promoters of industrial enterprise in all parts of India.

In this connection, I may observe that Mr. Ranade was neither a Free Trader nor an out-and-out Protectionist. He demurred to the doctrines of the old school of Political Economists, that national economy was essentially individualistic and had no separate or collective aspect; that the individual or typical economical man had no desire other than only that of self-advancement; that this self-interest is best promoted by the largest production of articles with the mininum of difficulty or trouble; that the pursuit of private gain by each individual tended to promote the general good of the common-wealth; that the free and unrestrained competition in the struggle for life was the only safety valve and self-regulator; that all the artificial regulations, whether by custom or by law, were and encroachments on individual freedom; that every individual had knowledge and capacity to value his own interest; that there was perfect freedom and equality in the power of contract between man and man; that capital and labour were always free and ready to shift from one profession to another whenever better returns were offered; that

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there was a natural tendency for profits and wages to find a common level; that the increase of population had resulted in outstripping the means of subsistence; and lastly, that supply and demand mutually adjusted and balanced each other.

Mr. Ranade believed that none of these doctrines could with advantage be freely and without limitations and modifications be applied to a backward and purely agricultural country like India. He considered that the Government of India were altogether following a wrong policy in their general and unrestricted adherence to the principles of Free Trade without any regard to the peculiar economic conditions of this country.

The expansion of agriculture, although welcome in the absence of better prospects, indicated the growing decay of manufacturing industries in-as-much as increasing numbers of artisan classes were perforce compelled to resort to land as the last and only means of subsistence.

The absence of a landed aristocracy and of a well-to-do middle class has only aggravated the situation. Mr. Ranade has proved that the economic advancement of the country can never be considered to be satisfactory unless its urban population bears an increasing proportion to its rural numbers.

In the words of Mr. Ranade, "the beam of light in the British Government, illuminating the prevailing darkness is destined to dispel it and infuse life and a spirit of progress into our stagnant and

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decaying civilisation and to raise us in the scale of civilised nations, provided it continues to be actuated with just and generous principles of not sacrificing the interests of India to those of any particular class of British traders or manufacturers or of any others, does not remain contented with imparting to the inhabitants of this land the blessings of education, peace, order, and the security of life and property, but tries to promote their material prosperity by the development of the natural resources of the country and the revival of its dying and decaying manufacturing industries."

Mr. Ranade considered that there was a very good outlet for enterprise for the surplus population of India in Australia, Africa and the West Indies, where there was a great demand for labour. Unfortunately, however, we find that this was an illusion, since during recent years almost all the colonies have adopted measures restricting the importation of Indian labour and even discouraging emigration from India.

Mr. Ranade all the time maintained that the Government of India were following a suicidal policy in blindly adopting the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. This doctrine was exploded long ago even in Free Trade England, where men of all shades of opinion have begun to recognise that the policy of 'Let alone' was not the right and safe policy in all circumstances.

Mr. Ranade strongly urged the patriarchal interference of the State in reviving ancient and decaying industries and in starting new ones. He indicated the

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directions in which the State could best help the development of the resources of the country, *viz.*, by lending its assistance in regulating co-operative effort, by helping the people to form deposit and finance banks, by facilitating the recoveries of advances made by such banks, by encouraging new industrial enterprise by subsidies and guarantees, by advances of money loans on easy terms, by encouraging emigration and immigration, by founding and supporting technical and technological schools and colleges, and by purchasing as far as possible, for Government stores, articles produced in this country.

Mr. Ranade has convincingly shown the extreme importance and necessity of the assistance of the State in the economic development of the country. In his masterly address before the first Industrial Conference held at Poona in 1891 on the "Re-organization of the real credit in India," Mr. Ranade has pointed out how credit is being organized and strengthened with state assistance in almost all the countries on the continent of Europe, especially in assisting in co-operative and agricultural banks, in a number of ways, *viz.*, by lending the help of their officers for control, management and inspection; by subsidies, if not by actual bounties or import duties; by substantial assistance in the collections and recoveries; by monopolies and by affording facilities in the way of concessions and exemptions from state duties.

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An attempt was made in the Bombay Presidency to start an agricultural bank somewhat on the lines of the mortgage banks in Switzerland. The promoters of this bank requested Government to institute an inquiry by way of experiment in any one of its Talukas into the previous debts of the agriculturists and to publish a detailed account of such inquiry. The promoters proposed that Government should pay all their old debts, the bank undertaking to make good the sum so paid on condition of its being allowed a first charge on the mortgage estates so benefited. The bank would undertake to charge a very low rate of interest on its loans and would recover them in instalments fixed with the approval of the Government. Further the bank would leave collections of instalments due in the hands of the Government village authorities. These promoters, however, at the same time stipulated that Government should give an undertaking not to raise the assessment on the area dealt with by the bank and that the transactions of the bank should be exempt from all the local rates and charges. The concessions asked for by the promoters were not wider than those allowed to the credit foncier and land mortgage banks in Europe.

The Government of Bombay strongly supported the proposals of the promoters of this bank and the Government of India also endorsed their observations and backed up the proposals of the Government of Bombay. Unfortunately, however, the Secretary of State

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vetoed the recommendations both of the local Government and of the Government of India.

It is a matter of congratulation that in the following decade during the closing period of the regime of Lord Curzon, the Government of India was permitted to give on a limited scale practical encouragement to co-operative agricultural banks.

The recommendations of the Government of Bombay and the Government of India were vetoed mainly on the ground that they ran counter to the well-settled and accepted maxims of English Political Economy. But the Secretary of State overlooked the fact that the Government of India have better opportunities of studying Indian problems on the spot and that they are guided by special expert advice, while the authorities at Home are naturally guided more by sentiment and tradition. In such matters the opinion of the Government of India is, therefore, entitled to a greater weight than the academic theories of the Political Economists at Home.

The economic condition of England is very different from that of India. In England the land is owned by a few land-lords and the peasantry represent only a very small proportion of the wage-earning classes. There can be no comparison whatever between the manufacturing and commercial activities in the two countries. In India the agricultural classes form 80 p. c. of the total population; there is no accumulation of capital; the manufacturing industry is in its infant-

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stage and even in that stage it is mostly in the hands of foreigners. The economic history of England therefore can furnish no safe guide for dealing with the peculiar difficulties of the situation in this country. In the majority of countries on the continent of Europe, Indian problems are more or less reproduced under the conditions of life and property similar to those in India. The principles of Political Economy accepted and adopted on the continent of Europe, therefore, are a more practical guide than those adopted by Free Trade England.

Mr. Ranade did not attribute the existing poverty of India exclusively to foreign rule. He frankly admitted that the Government of India were honestly trying to apply all sorts of palliatives where they were needed. He recognised that the Government of India were sincerely anxious to secure the continuity of peace, the protection of property and labour and the even administration of justice, to the high and the low, the rich and the poor. The Government of India has been trying its best to encourage emigration from densely populated parts to sparsedly inhabited tracts. It has encouraged, so far as it lay in its power, the pioneers of enterprise. It has also tried to help and encourage railway enterprise in this country.

Mr. Ranade also recognised that the powers of the Government of India were limited and controlled by higher authorities in England. The Government of India is not always free to adopt remedies, such as are

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either recommended or such as commend themselves to it. It may have, and no doubt has, made mistakes, notably in its system and policy of famine relief, but it is open to conviction, and on a number of occasions it has frankly shown that it is prepared to retrace its steps.

The Government of India have very sympathetically handled the economic problems of this country, but unfortunately they have not a free hand in moulding its financial policy; and the result is that however much they might wish to follow a protectionist policy, much in the same way as that adopted by the Netherlands in their colonies in the East Indian Archipelago, Java, and the surrounding Islands, they are hampered by mandates from the authorities at Home, who, as I have observed before, are guided more by abstract and academic theories than by any actual and practical knowledge of the situation.

In a paper published in 1880 on the "Law of land sale in British India," Mr Ranade has reviewed the history of land legislation in Europe and India and he has pointed out the peculiar features of the agrarian problem in India, as also the only way in which that problem could be satisfactorily solved.

India is in a stage of transition and metamorphosis, passing from semi-feudal and patriarchal conditions of existence into a more settled commercial order of things; from payments in kind to payments in cash, from the rigid observances of custom and tradition to the laws and rules of competition, and from a simple

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to a more artificial and complex organization. These conditions necessitate a very systematic and watchful economic legislation. Property must naturally gravitate towards the class which has greater intelligence, foresight and economy, and slip from the hands of those who are ignorant, helpless, and improvident. No amount of state legislation can stem, much less prevent, the result of this natural process. The salve offered by Mr. Ranade towards the satisfactory solution of the agricultural problem in India was that Government should withdraw from its position as land-lord and that it should look upon the land tax like any other tax. A permanent rayatwari settlement fixed in kind and commuted into money value at a scale settled at every cycle of 20 or 30 years is the only soludtion towards substantially ameliorating the condition of the agricultural classes.

Although Mr. Ranade believed that India was day by day becoming poorer, he never despaired. He fully recognised that there were impenetrable barriers between wealth and industry in this country and that there were other factors which retarded and materially impeded the development of its industrial resources. He gave no countenance to the theory that so long as there was a heavy drain or tribute to pay to England, there was no possibility or chance whatever for any successful attempt at development or recoupment being made in this country. Mr. Ranade believed that this tribute in the shape of a surplus export of nearly twenty crores,

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was not an unmixed evil. He recognised that a portion of this tribute represented interest on moneys invested in this country by European capitalists, and he pointed out that so far from complaining India ought to be thankful for securing a creditor who supplied capital for our requirements at a low rate of interest.

In the same manner, Mr. Ranade did not believe in the cry of despair that there was no capital to be had in this country to develop its industrial resources, more especially to open up its numberless coal and iron mines. He pointed out that although we had not at our command unlimited and vast resources, still we had in all conscience abundant enough, if only we made full use of them and ceased to throw them away into the sea year after year as we do in deference to tradition, custom and mistrust. Every year India imports treasure bullion in gold and siver of the value of nearly 12 crores. The whole of this wealth, as soon as it is imported, disappears and is buried or hoarded by conversion into unproductive forms such as ornaments &c. During the last half century this absorption has resulted in the destruction of nearly 450 crores of wealth which would otherwise have been of enormous usefulness in developing the industries of the country. The saving of 450 crores during 50 years by thirty millions of people is hardly an indication of the alleged growing prosperity of the country. But at the same time it shows the amount of wealth that remains unproductive and is not available for any useful purpose.

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In this connection, I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Ranade himself, the line of work recommended by him for the Industrial Conference, (which, by the way, was started by him), in his inaugural address delivered at the first meeting of that body at Poona in the year 1890.

"We have to keep in mind" said Mr. Ranade, "the following axiomatic truths in all our deliberations:—

1. The work of the conference should be conducted, and its constitution framed on non-sectarian and non-party lines, so that all classes of people may take part in it.
2. What we have chiefly to avoid is the pursuit of impracticable objects. We should husband our resources to the best of our power and not exhaust them by vain complaints against the drain of the Indian tribute, or by giving battle with Free Trade.
3. We must realise clearly our exact situation, i. e. first, our phenominal poverty, and secondly our growing dependence on the single and precarious resources of agriculture.
4. Having realized this situation, we must strive to correct it with a full sense that we cannot do all that we wish in a single year or a decade, and that, we can at the most create the spirit and the tendency, and initiate the movement of change and set it afloat.
5. The proper scope of the work to be done is to correct the disproportion between our engrossing production of raw agricultural produce, and our backwardness in the production and distribution of manufactured produce.
6. In the accomplishment of this aim, we should not forget that there are permanent advantages and disadvantages enjoyed by certain countries and races, which regulate the distribution and choice of labour, and that we cannot hope to accomplish impossibilities. And yet, within these limits, there is an ample scope for good and honest work for many a decade to come in

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utilization of our existing, relatively to us ample, though as compared with other countries scanty, resources of natural agents and Capital, with our limitless supply of labour. The skill and patience of our industrial classes are a rich inheritance which cannot fail to help us, if we but provide a larger sphere for its growth and training.

7. Bearing these limitations and advantages in mind, our immediate efforts should be directed to the improvement by art and industry of our raw wealth of agricultural produce, and of the articles which we send away as raw produce and import as manufactured produce.

8. No hand-made industry can hope to thrive in competition with industry moved by cheap natural agents. The free use of natural agents, moreover, makes large investments of capital a necessity, and thus handicaps all individual efforts beyond rivalry. What we have to bear in mind is, therefore, the organization of industry and capital on the joint stock principle for collective and large undertakings.

9. The superior skill of the foreigner must be availed of freely by importing it from other countries till we train up our own people for the work, first, in technical institutes here and in foreign countries and further, in the far more practical discipline of factories and mills at work.

10. Our resources of capital are scanty, but if we only knew how to use such resources as we have and brought them together, we would have more wealth and capital than we can at present properly handle.

11. While we put forth our energies in these directions we can count upon the assistance of the state in regulating our co-operative efforts by helping us to form deposit and finance banks, and facilitating recoveries of advances made by them, encouraging new industries with guarantees and subsidies, or loans at low interest, by pioneering the way to new enterprises, and by affording facilities for emigration, and establishing technical institutes, and buying more largely the stores they require here, and in many cases by producing their own stores.

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12. State help is, after all, a subordinate factor in the problem. Our own exertion and our own resolution must conquer the difficulties, which are chiefly of our own creation."

Mr. Ranade's activities were not confined to any one direction of progress or reform. He all the time simultaneously worked for industrial, municipal, educational, social and religious reform.

The revival of vernacular literature and the reform of our universities had claimed a large share of Mr. Ranade's attention.

He long and persistently strove to secure the introduction of the study of the vernaculars in the university curriculum, but there was a strong section in the Senate which was opposed to all attempts in that direction.

It was only after his death that the University of Bombay included the vernaculars in the curriculum of the higher Arts examinations. Mr. Ranade's reviews of the history and progress of Marathi literature both in his reports as Assistant Oriental Translator and also those published by him in the columns of the *Times of India* greatly helped the movement for the encouragement of the study and growth of the vernacular of the Maharashtra. The present Deccan Vernacular Translation Society owes its existence to him. It was through his exertions that the Society obtained the large sum of money that was for years lying unclaimed in the hands of the Accountant General, Bombay.

In the same manner, after repeated attempts he succeeded in inducing the University of Bombay to

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improve its examination system and to conduct its examinations in a more rational manner, but though his proposals were adopted by the University, they were vetoed by the Government of Lord Sandhurst. Mr. Ranade had, however, unbounded patience and full belief in the ultimate success of all righteous proposals, and he was not a man to feel discouraged or daunted by reverses. Had he been spared longer to us, I have no doubt he would have succeeded in carrying out all his proposals.

Of Mr. Ranade's literary productions, it is impossible to speak except in the superlative degree. It is a pity that no effort has been made to publish a full and complete collection of all his speeches and writings. Should such a collection ever find the light of day, it will serve as a guide-book and encylopædia to educated Indians and even to Englishmen interested in India on almost all subjects connected with the progress and well-being of this country. It is not easy to decide in which subject Mr. Ranade appeared to be most at home and at his best. In every subject which he handled, Mr. Ranade was always at his best. His style and diction were so chaste and fluent that such a weighty journal as the *Times of India* has frankly acknowledged that even few Englishmen could write or speak in English better than Mr. Justice Ranade. Every one of his essays and speeches discloses an originality of thought and brilliancy of style that has been unsurpassed by any Indian to this day.

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Mr. Ranade in the closing years of his life had commenced writing a critical history of the Marathas. It is a national misfortune that he did not live long enough to complete this great and monumental work. The few preparatory chapters of this history that have been published show, what a splendid and rich contribution the work in its complete form would have made towards elucidating and illumining the true history of the rise, the growth, and the decline of the Maratha power in India.

The first volume of Mr. Ranade's work on Maratha history shows that he had intended to write a critical history of the social, economic and political condition of the Maharashtra from the rise to the final extinction of the Maratha power. In the few preparatory chapters he has shown that the rise of the Maratha power was not a mere accident due to a chance combination, but was a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality not merely to assert its independence but to achieve what had not been attempted before, the formation of a confederation of States, animated by a common patriotism; and that the success it achieved was due to a general, social, religious and political upheaval of all classes of the population. "My aim" says Mr. Ranade, "is rather to present a clear view of the salient features of the history from the Indian stand-point, to remove many misapprehensions which detract much from the moral interest and the political lessons of the story, and above all to enlist the sympathy of the representatives

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of the conquering British power in the fortunes of its worsted rival. Now that all jealousies are laid at rest, the tribute of justice may well be paid to the departed great, whose names are cherished by millions in India as the sweet memory of an irrevocable past."

Mr. Ranade has also shown that it was not a mere political revolution that stirred the Maharashtra towards the close of the 16th and the commencement of the 17th century. The popular belief engendered and strengthened by the writings of the English Historians that it was the religious and merciless persecution of the Hindus by Aurangzeb that helped to unite the different communities in the Maharashtra, and in consequence strengthened the hands of Shivaji, has been shown by Mr. Ranade to be a mere fallacy. Mere persecution, although it may accentuate the feelings of resentment and suffering, is not of itself sufficient to account for a wholesale and general revolution. Mr. Ranade attributes the success of Shivaji to a national force, which had been agitating the Maratha country long before Aurangzeb came to the throne; and this force was the religious and social upheaval "of the whole population strongly bound together by the affinities of language, race, religion, literature, and seeking further solidarity by a common independent political existence."

Mr. Ranade further observes, "Shivaji did not create the Maratha power; that power had already been created and scattered in small centres all over the country. He sought to unite it for a higher purpose

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by directing it against a common danger. This was his chief merit and his chief service to the country, and in this consists his chief claim upon the grateful remembrance of his people." Mr. Ranade frankly recognises that Shivaji's great statesmanship and foresight lay in allying himself with and taking advantage of the social and religious upheaval that had convulsed the whole country. While Shivaji respected and patronised saints like Tukaram and Ramdas, these saints or leaders of the social and religious movement in their turn spurred him on towards the foundation of a Maratha empire.

I shall conclude this very brief indication of the line taken up by Mr. Ranade in his great work on Maratha history by quoting in his words the characteristic features of the mode of civil government established by Shivaji, distinguishing it from those which preceded or followed it:—

"*Firstly.*—The great importance he attached to the hill forts, which were virtually the starting units of his system of Government.

Secondly.—His discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family.

Thirdly.—His refusal to grant Jahagir assignments of land for the support of civil or military officers.

Fourthly.—The establishment of a direct system of revenue management, without the intervention of district or village Zamindars.

Fifthly.—The disallowance of the farming system.

Sixthly.—The establishment of a Council of Ministers with their proper work allotted to them, and each directly responsible to the King in Council.

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Seventhly.—The subordination of military to the civil element in the administration.

Eighthly.—The intermixture of Brahmans, Prabhus and Marathas, in all offices, high and low, so as to keep check upon one another."

Mr. Ranade's religious creed was what he described as the Bhâgavat Dharma. Mr. Ranade was an earnest and a stanch monotheist and for nearly a quarter of a century he was the ablest and the foremost leader of the Theistic movement in Western India.

Mr. Ranade did not believe that this movement was the result of the Western education and Western ideas or that it owed its first inception to its great leaders, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Babu Keshub Chandra Sen. In his work on Maratha history as well as in a lecture delivered at the Bombay Prarthana Samaj in 1895, Mr. Ranade pointed out that the Theistic movement was only the latest phase of the protest against idolatry and ritualism, and that it was only a faint reflex and an humble offshoot of the principle underlying the system of the Bhâgavat Dharma, which for nearly two thousand years influenced and swayed the minds of the best of our saints and prophets. The Bhâgavat Dharma was a protest against Hinduism much in the same way as Protestantism in Western Europe was a protest against Roman Catholicism. The leaders of the Protestant movement in Europe protested against the monopoly of Latin as the sole vehicle of expression and thought in churches, schools and colleges ; they protested against the ascetic ideas of the monks and the priests; they

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protested against indulgences, pilgrimages, fasts, confessions, image and relic worship, and rituals and ceremonials. Mr. Ranade has pointed out how the Protestant upheaval in Europe was synchronous with similar upheaval in this country. The saints and prophets who led the Protestant movement in India came from both sexes, from all classes and castes, and from all conditions and stations in life. Their teachings gave rise to no bloodshed, insurrection or war, nor did they require the assistance of any Inquisitions or Star Chambers to help their propaganda. The leaders of Indian Protestantism protested against the supremacy or monopoly of Sanskrit as the sole and exclusive vehicle of learning; they protested against ceremonials and rituals; they protested against the Yoga system of austerity, restrictions of caste and class, cruelty, impurity, human and animal sacrifices, and polytheism.

Mr. Ranade had a devoted faith in the Theistic creed. He was a pillar of strength to the Theistic movement in Western India. Himself a believer in one God, his voice was, week after week, heard from the pulpits of the Prarthana Samajes at Bombay and Poona. His deep faith in the goodness and mercy of the Godhead was exemplified in the nobility and purity of his own life. He had a magic power of inspiring those who came under his chastening and elevating influence to pure thought and noble deeds. His calm and serene temperament which nothing ever ruffled, his perfect and deep faith in the goodness of God, his keen sense

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of duty, and above all his pure and upright conduct never failed to impress those, who came into contact with him even for a very short time, with the greatness and nobility of his character. He was the loving ideal of numbers of his fellow-countrymen who at one time or another, have felt his influence. Many an erring young man has been reclaimed from the pursuit of frivolous pleasures, many others have been encouraged and spurred on to useful and noble activities.

Like the late Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Ranade's culture, his enthusiasm, his energies, and his activities had all a deep and sound foundation of devoted and religious feeling. Both these great men of the 19th century never undertook any important or responsible task before first offering a short prayer to God. Many persons must have noticed that whenever Mr. Ranade stood up from his chair to deliver a lecture or an address, he would, before commencing his speech, for a minute or two stand mute with his eyes closed, but very few know that in these few sacred moments, like Mr. Gladstone, he was silently praying. None of Mr. Ranade's followers and companions, who have had the privilege of travelling with him at one time or another, can ever forget the enthralling influence, they could not help feeling, while hearing the veteran leader earnestly and devotedly chant the simple and noble Abhangas of the great saint Tukaram.

It is a great pity that none of the numberless sermons delivered by Mr. Ranade from the pulpits of

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the Prarthana Samajes at Bombay and Poona have been fully reported and preserved. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, however, deserves our gratitude for publishing in Marathi brief summaries of a few of these sermons, each of which is a mine of noble and eloquent thoughts.

I cannot find words to express my own feelings of admiration about these sermons and I cannot do better than quote in original the words of Mrs. Ranade herself from her preface to this volume. It is impossible to translate the feelings of love and devotion for her husband disclosed in this short, simple, but touching preface of Mrs. Ranade:—

"मुंबईस प्रार्थनामंदिरांत उपासना चालविण्याचे जेव्हां जेव्हां प्रसंग येत त्या त्या वेळीं, एकदा त्या प्रेममय रसाळवाणीचा ओघ सुरू झाला कीं, हृदय उचंबळून यावें, मन तल्लीन व्हावें, क्षणांत प्रापंचिक दुःखांचा विसर पडावा, आशा व आस्था यांचा हृदयांत प्रवेश व्हावा; इतकेंच नाहीं, तर आपण कधीं कधीं साक्षात् स्वर्गसुखच अनुभवीत आहों असें वाटावें. हा प्रकार उपासना सुरू झाल्यापासून तों ती संपेपर्यंत चालत असे; एवढेंच नव्हे, तर तेथून घरीं आल्यावरसुद्धां, त्या प्रेमळ, पण मनावर पूर्णपणें संस्कार करणाऱ्या शब्दांनीं जागृत केलेले धर्मविचार पुढें एकसारखे तासांचे तास मनांत घोळत राहत; व आपल्याला आज कांहीं जास्त अधिकार प्राप्त झाला आहे, आपली योग्यता जास्त झाली आहे, असें वाटून आनंद होई.

ती प्रेमळ, शांत व गंभीर वाणी प्रत्यक्ष ऐकण्याचें जरी आतां माझें भाग्य राहिलें नाहीं, तरी पण माझ्या हृदयस्थ

असलेल्या मूर्तींच्या मुखांतून निर्घालेल्या अमृतवाणीचा–त्या पवित्र गंगेचा–आश्रय केला तर अशा दुःखांतही कांहीं समाधानाला जागा होईल व मनाला स्थैर्य व शांति येण्याला तीच प्रसादवाणी सर्वांशीं कारणीभूत होईल, असा मला पूर्ण भरंवसा वाटत आहे. आपल्याला नंदादीप लावण्याचें सामर्थ्य नसेल, तर तेवत असलेल्या नंदादीपाची नुसती वात सारली, तरी पुण्य घडतें, असें वाडवडील सांगत आले आहेत. दुसऱ्यानें लाविलेल्या नंदादीपाची वात सारण्याचें श्रेय इतकें आहे; आणि हा जो उपदेशरूपी उज्ज्वल ज्ञानदीप स्वतःच लावून ठेवण्यांत आला आहे, त्याची वात सारण्याचें काम माझेंच आहे, हें जाणून मी आज उपलब्ध असलेलीं धर्मपर व्याख्यानें पुस्तकरूपानें प्रसिद्ध करीत आहें. हीं मजप्रमाणें इतर वाचकांसही कल्याणप्रद व्हावीं, हेंच देवाजवळ अनन्यभावानें मागणें आहे."

At an early age in his life Mr. Ranade keenly felt the injustice and oppression resulting from many of our social institutions. He felt the baneful effect of some of the social evils and he determined to agitate for their eradication. He earnestly and eloquently pleaded for the education of Hindu women; he denounced early marriages, the disfigurement and the prohibition of the remarriage of Hindu widows; he condemned the caste-system, which he rightly pointed out was the prime cause of the nation's hopeless prostration and decay; and he bravely and stoutly fought against the many spurious customs that have been

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introduced in the Hindu society by the priesthood under the guise of religion. For nearly forty years he worked at the helm in the cause of social reform with singular determination and devotion. There was no social reform controversy in which he did not take a leading and prominent part. There is hardly any reform institution which does not owe its very existence to him.

Mr. Ranade began his campaign of social reform with a band of a few earnest workers like the late Vishnu Parashuram Shastri Pandit, Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, and Janardan Sakharam Gadgil. He opened his campaign in the columns of the *Indu Prakash* in 1862 and he remained in the forefront and thick of the fight to the last day of his life. His small band of social reformers grew in strength and numbers as the years rolled on, and it was a great satisfaction to him to know that his followers who came chiefly from the educated classes had become a power for good in the land.

According to Mr. Ranade there are five distinctive lines on which the social reform movement in different parts of India was and is being worked out, all in their own way, however, tending to the same goal.

The first line or method of work is what he termed the 'method of rebellion.' The followers of this method believe in separating themselves from the rest of the community and in pitching a camp of their own. The creed of this school of thought is based upon the principle that conscience after all must be the supreme guide

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of human conduct and the followers of this school decline to allow any other considerations to affect or influence their proceedings.

The second method is what might be termed the 'method of interpretation.' This consists in utilising existing caste organizations for the purpose of reform, avowedly based upon the ancient Hindu scriptures. The followers of this school would accept a reform, provided it was sanctioned by the Vedas, or at any rate it was countenanced or could be explained away by an interpretation of some text from the Vedas.

The third line is essentially a 'method of compromise.' The followers of this school recognise and believe in the necessity of reform, although at the same time they are not themselves prepared, either from moral cowardice or because of the cumulative influences of tradition, to act up to their honest beliefs.

The fourth method is what might be termed as the 'method of pledges,' where an appeal is made to men's sense of honour, irrespective of the opinions of society, the commands of religion, or personal convenience and comfort.

The fifth and the last method is that of the 'state compulsion,' which seeks to invoke the assistance of the legislature.

Mr. Ranade did not believe exclusively in any one of the above methods, but he wished to adopt all these methods, as they suited the purpose for the time being. He wished to work on no one single line but on all lines

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together, and above all, he did not wish to kick the old ladder but was particularly solicitous of preserving a continuity with the past. He did not wish to invoke the state interference except when the evil was so great that only desperate remedies could be of any avail in eradicating it.

Compromise, and not aggression or rebellion, was his guiding principle in reform. He proceeded cautiously, and on lines of least resistance. He went on hammering and welding without severing the ties with the past. The process no doubt might and does take time, but Mr. Ranade was never known to get impatient for immediate results. His own attitude towards his reactionary opponents is well exemplified in the noble advice he gave to his followers in the memorable address he delivered at Poona in 1895.

"In view of the conflict" he said "it becomes the duty of us all to consider what should be the attitude of the reformers towards those who are opposed to them. Strength of numbers we cannot command but we can command earnestness of conviction, singleness of devotion, readiness for self-sacrifice in all honest workers in the cause. We have above all to learn what it is to bear and forbear—to bear ridicule, insults, even personal injuries at times, and forbear from returning abuse for abuse. In the words of the Prophet of Nazareth, we have to take up the cross, not because it is pleasant to be persecuted, but because the pain and the injury are as nothing by the side of the principle for which they

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are endured. We may differ as individuals, but these differences are after all due to the weakness of the human temperament and to the error of human judgment. It is the mind which after all holds intercourse with other minds, and there is a basis of union in the common divine element present in all of us, which is the spirit which binds together all men in a common bond of love and help. The waters of the Heavens get their colour from the soil over which they flow; but after all, these colours are not the water; they may conflict with one another for a time, but in the end they meet and flow into one pure stream into the great ocean, leaving the earth and the mud and the silt behind."

Mr. Ranade founded the Indian Social Conference and his inaugural addresses at the annual sittings of that body contain the best and ablest exposition of the creed of the Hindu Social Reformers.

What is the inner spring of action which is setting in motion both orthodox and reform workers against their will, even where their will does not consent to move? What is the message of the Social Conference? Mr. Ranade answers in a way characteristic of him:— "That inner spring, hidden purpose, not consciously realised in many cases, is the sense of human dignity and freedom, which is slowly asserting its supremacy over the mind. It is not confined to one sphere of family life. It invades the whole man and makes him feel that individual purity and social justice have paramount

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claims over all, which we cannot ignore long, without being dragged down to a lower level of existence. This or that particular reform or 'revival' of ancient practices, as some would like to call them, the removal of this or that particular defect or vice is not, and should not be, the only end and aim of the agitation to improve our social condition. The end is to renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers. Till so renovated, purified, and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were, the chosen people to whom the great tasks were allotted, and by whom great deeds were performed. When this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself and in what method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with a buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly, with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached, this is the promised land. Happy are they who see it in distant vision; happier those that are permitted to work and to clear the way on to it; and happiest they who live to see it with their own eyes and tread upon it—the holy soil once more. This is the message the Conference has to deliver."

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Mr. Justice Ranade had been working towards the attainment of this end for more than a quarter of a century with an earnestness and devotion that ought to inspire us with hope and confidence and encourage us to follow the noble example set by him. He was no pessimist. He declined to believe that we were a done up race and that there was no hope for us.

Up to the last day of his life Mr. Ranade earnestly and strenuously fought against the pessimistic belief that there is no future for the Indian communities and that like the aboriginal races of Australia and the West Indians of America, they are doomed to final extinction. He very rightly used to point out that a nation which had survived severe shocks, convulsions, revolutions, and all the evil effects of foreign and tyrannical rule for over 2000 years, was not likely to lose its characteristic entity now, especially in the more favoured circumstances under the Pax Britannica.

In an address delivered by him at Lahore he said:– "Perhaps some of you might think, and in this favoured land of yours you have good reason to think, that things are not so bad as they seem. That is also my hope; and this faith in us alone makes us feel that if we all pull strongly and heartily, we may yet achieve our regeneration. I profess implicit faith in two articles of my creed. This country of ours is the true land of promise. This race of ours is the chosen race. It was not for nothing that God has showered His choicest blessings on this ancient land of Âryâvarta.

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We can see His hand in history. Above all other countries we inherit a civilization and a religious and social polity which has been allowed to work their own free development on the big theatre of time. There has been no revolution, and yet the old condition of things has been tending to reform itself by the slow process of assimilation. The great religions of the world took their birth here, and now they meet again as brothers prepared to welcome a higher dispensation, which will unite all and vivify all. India alone, among all the countries of the world, has been so favoured, and we may derive much strength of inward hope from such a contemplation. Change for the better by slow absorption—assimilation not by sudden conversion and revolution—this has been the characteristic feature of our past history. We have cultivated Buddhism, and we conquered it by imbibing its excellences and rejecting its errors. We have outlived Mahomedan repression, and have conquered it by being the better for the hardy discipline in the sufferings we went through under its domination. The old-world looseness of the relations of married life and of affiliation of sons has been purged from us. The old-world slavery of the Shudra millions has been quietly abandoned; the erewhile Shudra classes have been elevated into Vaishyas; our Brahmans have become warriors and statesmen; Kshatriyas have become philosophers and guides, and our Vaishyas have become our prophets and saints. The old-world fetichism has given place to idolatry. The old-

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world poly-theism has given place to a full recognition by the humblest of our people of the unity of the Godhead. Our voracious love of flesh and wine has made room for an ideal of abstinence, charity, and mercy, unknown all over the world. The old sacrifices of man and beast have given place to the holier sacrifices of the passions in us. The patriarchic forms of society have made room for communal organisations all over the country. The sanctity of woman's place—if not as wife, yet as mother, daughter and sister,—has been realized in a way unknown before or elsewhere."

Mr. Ranade believed in our redeeming power, in our re-moulding energy and in our approaching triumph through knowledge, love and labour. We are now in the midst of one of those epochs during which the race passes from one stage of evolution to another, and in this transition period the teachings of Mr. Ranade will serve as guiding stars in the firmament that light the way for the humble pilgrims through life.

Happy, indeed, those who in the swirl of conflicting tendencies can by following his light help to make the world they are born in, better and happier. Mr. Ranade's message is divine, and though the gospel of our redemption that he preached may for a time be scorned, his noble work shall answer the gibes of his reactionary opponents and his faith in the future shall outlast their mockery.

Mr. Ranade has sown the seed, and in the fulness of time future generations will reap the harvest. He in-

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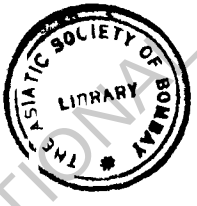
fluenced thought so largely, he inspired so many disciples, he left so many enduring works—enduring as seed-plots, that his death, writ large, was immortality. Let us all by following his light strive to realize in our own lives that noble and lofty ideal of charity, self-sacrifice and purity of conduct, in thought and deed, whose pure lineaments were reflected in his every action, in every word he wrote or spoke, and whose lustre and beauty no time can dim or tarnish.

"Oh pure Reformers! not in vain
Your trust in human kind;
The good which bloodshed could not gain,
Your peaceful zeal shall find."

D. V. KIRTANE.



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JAMSHEDJI NUSSERWANJI TATA.

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JAMSHEDJI NUSSERWANJI TATA.

The town of Naosari in Gujarat has had no local history worth the name except in its connection with the Parsees, whose residence it became soon after their arrival in India. Since then it has had reasons to be proud for many a name of celebrity amongst the Parsees whom it has sent forth into the world; but it could not have felt prouder of itself than in 1839, when the cool breezes blowing from the distant shore wafted eastwards the news that in the house of one of its beloved and respected citizens was born a child, which was afterwards to become known as Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata. If we were writing a nursery tale for children, we would have described how at his birth fortune smiled on him, and how the freaks of one of the fairies led her to endow the child with the secret of success. If we were writing a purely biographical account of the well-known citizen of Bombay, we might have dwelt on that home in Naosari which left its impress on the child and which must have contributed so powerfully to the making of the man. If we had the duty of the psychological analyst laid on us, we might have studied the early growth of his mind and determined the respective shares of his native town, his parents, and his environments in its formation.

But with all these various aspects of his childhood we presume not to deal; for ours is the task of the critic

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who records the public actions of a great man and his influence on his age and country. We shall endeavour to estimate the man by his public career, to determine what he was by what he did. The future biographer of the man may consider the various aspects of his life which we propose to omit,—what the man was in his private life, how far the influences of his early infancy contributed towards the making of his public career, what inspiration he derived from his early environments, and how far in the noble struggle of his life he owed his strength and resolution to the sacred influences of 'home.' It is true the unity of a biography is lost by the omission of details like these; equally true is it that the resulting judgment is more a distorting caricature than a living representation. The cool judgment of an external observer, the dry light of a bald critic who has no instruments to mould his material except the surface movements on the public stage, can never be an effective substitute for the eye of sympathy that perceives the inner springs of actions and follows with interest the agitations of the heart within. But let each have his turn. The observer from the outside has his own work to do. The light and shades which the sympathetic eye cannot perceive might be opened to the vision of the distant gazer; the aspects which might be shut out from the ken of the student of the domestic record might be better measured by the scales of the philosophic historian of national landmarks.

For thirteen years the young child was allowed to breathe the Naosari air under the happy influence

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of an old-fashioned but comfortable home. Young Jamshedji was then taken to Bombay to continue the elements of education that he had begun to pick up at his birth-place. Three years later, we are told, he entered the Elphinstone College. In 1856 he was a Clare scholar, the next year a West scholar. He completed his academic education in 1859, after a four years' programme of study. The child had by this time grown into a full grown man, equipped by his studies for a strenuous life. Whatever other effects these studies may have had, they seem to have left one or two prominent marks on the youth, which had no small share in the making of his future greatness. They had already endowed him with that habit of patient and methodical investigation, as a preliminary but indispensable step in the organisation of his projects, that characterised every action and inspired every movement of his future life. They had already endowed him with a sense of public duty which made him feel that his welfare was bound up with the welfare of his country, and that in working for his country he was working for himself.

Academic education in Mr. Tata's times seems to have had a truly liberalising effect on the minds of its recipients; there was nothing of that interested love of learning which takes away from it half its virtue and dignity in our own days. There was one other man with Mr. Tata in whom the same stamp of precision and intellectual acuteness made by an academic career

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was supplemented by the same sense of public duty, *viz.*, Dr. Bhândârkar. They were two products of the same culture, who in their after life made themselves so useful in their own ways—the one in the exploration of unknown fields of industry, the other in the exploration of the then unknown fields of Sanskrit Literature and early Indian History.

Shortly after he completed his studies, he joined his father's firm. It was a firm of commissariat contractors in which old Mr. Nusserwanji had been able to recover a lost fortune and to make himself once more a well-to-do man. There appears to have been a natural propensity to commercial enterprise in the youth, which he must have undoubtedly inherited from his shrewd father; and it must have been carefully fostered under the eye of the parent even during the period of his academic education. For, the few months' training that he received in the firm could not have been all-sufficient to endow him with that business insight which he displayed in a developed form in the same year. Young Mr. Jamshedji was now sent to China, where he laid the foundations of a firm, which, after manifold vicissitudes in name and fortune, was styled Tata & Co., a name so familiar in commercial circles in Bombay and elsewhere. The firm which thus in 1861 came into being under the auspicious direction of the young man from Bombay was styled for the time being Jamshedji Ardeshir & Co. For two more years after the foundation of the firm, he remained in China directing its budding transactions, keeping him-

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self wide awake and assimilating a vast amount of commercial intelligence to his already ample stock. It was a time when alert intelligence could rapidly accumulate a fortune, and when pioneering skill in commercial enterprise could transform dross into gold. It was a time for new ideas and theories; success was easy and certain, and the environments extremely favourable. The commercial crisis of 1865 in Bombay, with the speculative craze from which it resulted, was itself a proof of the fact that the era was an era for the ability of pioneers and the propagation of new ideas.

Accordingly when, in 1863, Mr. Tata returned to Bombay he returned with fresh ideas in his mind. A new venture was made under the name of Nusserwanji Ruttonji and Co. including as partners, besides himself, his father, Shâpoorji Sorâbji Saklâtwâlâ and Kahândâs Nârândas. A new idea now occupied him—the idea of establishing an Indian Bank in London. Mr. Premchand Roychand, a capitalist with enterprising ideas, was to be his partner in the scheme. An Indian Bank in London, if once established as a successful concern, would have facilitated monetary transactions between the two countries and would have commanded English capital for India on easier terms than was then possible. Above all, it would have enormously and immediately expanded the mercantile connections of the Tata firms in Bombay. It is impossible to conjecture what development such a Bank might have had, started as it would have been in times when the difficulties of the

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silver question had not begun to be felt, and when the flow of capital from England had not to reckon with the dangers of a fluctuating rate of exchange. But the project so well conceived was destined for an early death; the financial craze of 1865, the effects of which were particularly disastrous for Bombay commercial interests, involved in its fatal whirlpool the Tata firms as well as the intended partner in the scheme—Mr. Premchand Roychand. Though thus withered in the bud, the scheme was not altogether fruitless; and from its neglected seeds was to spring a new growth, of the highest importance in its bearings on the private fortune of the man and on the public interests of the country. Young Mr. Tata had planned a visit to England for carrying out his idea of an Indian Bank; and though the idea was abandoned, the visit to England was not given up along with it. In 1865 he proceeded on his first continental tour, which this time was confined to England. The mill-industries in Lancashire must have engaged his attention, and he must have made a study of their ways of managing their spinning and weaving concerns and of their business habits. The researches he thus made and the knowledge he thus acquired were to be the bases on which he shortly afterwards ventured to make a successful start in that direction.

On his return from England, however, the first and most important consideration with him was to try and build up again the family fortune which had been lost in 1865. Helped by the experience of his father,

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and in co-operation with him, he undertook Government contracts in connection with the Abyssinian War, and amassed a fortune again in a short time.

But it was not enough to have restored a family fortune; the influence of the Western air he had just had occasion to breathe would not leave him so soon; inaction was never attractive to one who was a descendant of the ancient stock of the Persians; satisfaction at what had been actually achieved acted only as an incentive to fresh achievements; success only nerved the brain for greater efforts. Such was the predominant characteristic of Mr. Tata's life, and it had already attained its proper place in the history of that life. The scheme for the Reclamation of Back Bay had already been started, and young Mr. Tata joined it with Messrs. Cameron and Ryan as partners.

But the impressions of his visit to England were all this while urging him in a different direction, to which he now turned his attention. His first venture in the mill-industry was the purchase of the Chinchpoogly Oil Mills; he immediately transformed it into a spinning and weaving mill, and named it the 'Alexandra Mills.' After having started and successfully worked it for a time he sold the concern at a profit to Mr. Keshowji Naik. But the abandonment of this concern did not imply a withdrawal from the mill-industry on the part of Mr. Tata; it was only the prelude to a more decided venture which must have been haunting his mind for a long time. He now visited England for the

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second time in 1872, to complete his study of the cotton industry of Lancashire and to supplement his previous insight into it by fuller information. The principle of business, the elements of successful management, the favourable conditions of development–all these were the objects of patient investigation, and it was with a thorough mastery of all these details that he returned to his native land to put them to the ordeal of a practical trial.

But he did not return direct to his native country. His tour this time was not confined to England alone. He had the genius of a traveller, and from England he proceeded on a tour through Palestine. The notes that he made during this tour, as also his notes and diaries in general, have not yet been given to the public, but Mr. Natarâjan affords us occasional glimpses into them with reference to this Palestine tour. One thing stands prominently out in these glimpses, namely, that Mr. Tata travelled with open eyes and a critic's vision. Once, we are told, he allowed himself an expression of self-satisfaction at subscribing to a school kept by Christian nuns at Jerusalem. "Some bigots," he writes, "would have refused aid to an institution established with the avowed object of spreading Christianity, but we took a more cosmopolitan view and thought that education and the spread of knowledge under any colour was better than ignorance." It was a sentiment that was always present with the acute business man, a sentiment of large-hearted cosmopolitan

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sympathy, and a belief in the value of education; it was a shadow cast before of his future attitude towards the spread of liberal education in India. This humble seed was to grow soon into Jonah's gourd with all its sheltering kindness and benevolent shade.

The first question that faced him on his return to India was to select a suitable place for the erection of his proposed mill. He travelled all over the country, both in body and mind, in search of this site, and at last hit upon Nâgpur as fulfilling his requirements. Its central situation, as well as the vicinity of the cotton districts may have had largely influenced his choice, though the best vindication for it is the actual success that has attended the selection. The preliminary preparations were soon undertaken and finished, and an auspicious day was selected for the inauguration of the mill. The day which saw the proclamation of the late Queen Victoria of beloved memory as the Empress of India also saw the opening of the Empress Mills at Nâgpur; it was the 1st of January 1877. The proclamation of the Queen as Empress was thus accompanied by the introduction of a new era of industrial organisation; by a strange decree of fate the significance of the political transformation in the country, which created for once a living bond of unity in the shape of loyalty to the person of the Empress, was heightened by the simultaneous announcement of a commercial enterprise, which has left a permanent landmark in the history of

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its economic organisation. For, the inauguration of the Nâgpur Mills was nothing less than that. The Mills were opened with 30,000 spindles and 450 looms; at the present day the spindles have been increased to 67,000 and the looms to 1400. The company started with an original capital of Rs. 15,00,000 which with the lapse of time has been increased to Rs. 46,00,000; the increase being made not by the offer of shares to the public but by laying aside a part of its annual profits and giving freely to its share-holders the fully paid up shares. The annual profits of the company have on an average exceeded 50% on the original capital, and the dividend paid to the share-holders has ranged from 30% to 60% on the original value of the shares.

What were the causes to which the Nagpur Mills owed their unparalleled and peculiar success? At a time when old and conservative methods of manufacturing were followed in the rest of the country, the Nâgpur Mills were started with the latest improvements in manufacturing processes and with the help of the latest scientific advances. When the industry in the rest of the country was in the hands of unenterprising, narrow-visioned capitalists, who looked more to the immediate returns to their investments than to anything else, the mills in Central India were managed under the guidance of an intelligent, resourceful mind, whose penetrating vision enabled it to see things in their right proportion. While the rest of the mill-owners followed the pernicious system of the quarter anna commission

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on production, the clear vision of the man of thirtyeight perceived the baneful results of such a starvation policy and enabled him to be satisfied with only a reasonable percentage on the net profits for himself. While the majority of the captains of industry could not shake themselves clear of the traditional theories of a conflict between labour and capital, and of the clashing interests of shareholders and mill-owners, the owner of the new mill was convinced of the essential harmony of the interests of capital and labour, and considered that the prosperity of his concern depended on the prosperity of its employees, and the good will of the shareholders. But, above all, while the manufacturing concerns over the country generally were under the management of men whose qualifications were not of the highest and confined to knowledge of an extremely technical kind, the new mill could boast of being conducted by men who were experts in their line and whose technical experience was supplemented by the broad lights of culture. Eighteen years later, when a new spinning shed was opened in 1895, in connection with the Mills by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. John Woodburn, Mr. Tata admirably summed up for himself the causes which ensured such unparalleled success to his enterprise in Nâgpur. He said that he did not claim to be more unselfish, more generous or more philanthropic than other people, but he did claim that those mills were started on sound and straightforward principles. What his modesty prevented him from adding was that

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he had really exercised an amount of disinterestedness that was not usual with the other mill-owners. The postponement of present interests to future is as useful a principle in commerce as in politics and morals; and it has found not an entirely negligible illustration in the working of the Empress Mills.

It was in connection with the Nagpur Mills that Mr. Tata in March 1886 published a memorandum on the "Present state and future prospects of the cotton industry of India." The memorandum strongly advised the introduction of the ring spindle into all Indian mills; and Mr. Tata might well have pointed out the success with which it had been introduced in his own Nâgpur Mills. "The writer believes," states the memorandum, "that even under the present rather unfavourable relations of prices between cotton on the one hand and piece-goods and yarn on the other, the profits that can be made by means of the new machinery are so great that Bombay must be prepared very soon to see a large extension of her special industry." He warned the old mill-owners who showed a slackness in adopting the new facilities, about the approaching revolution and advised them to "put their old houses in order" before it was too late. The keen intellect of the Parsee mill-owner had perceived the significance of an improvement in the old method of spinning at a time when it was not thoroughly appreciated in England itself; and his interest in the industry as a whole would not let him sit at rest till he had proclaimed his knowledge to his fellow workers in the

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same field and exhorted them to take time by the forelock.

There are two other points which may be profitably noticed in connection with the mills at Nâgpur. The first is a Pension Fund raised for the benefit of the employees, which ensured a maximum pension of 5 Rupees a month after 30 years' service. It not only ensured efficient labour on the part of the employees, but afforded one way of solving the problem of the shifting habits of the labourers which often faces Indian mill-owners. It was an inducement for regular attendance and served to smooth away the bitterness of relations and the opposition of interests that might now and again arise between the working classes and their employers. Their system of a pension fund has been supplemented by another minor institution, that of giving annual prizes to the operatives for attention to work. It is an incentive to zealous work, and gives the operative a direct interest in the work that he has to do. It realises the advantages of profit-sharing on a small scale, and adds to the harmony of interests produced by the pension fund.

The other point to notice is the system of paid apprentices in his mills. "We train our young men," was his reply to a question addressed to him on the subject, adding that the mill itself was the best training ground for textile education. He always preferred to invite graduates of the Universities to serve as paid apprentices in his mills, till they acquired the necessary

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training, when openings were made for them in one or other of Mr. Tata's own concerns. He had a keen appreciation of the advantages of a liberal education; he had himself been indebted to too large an extent to his education for his success in life to forget the debt; and the success of his mills was largely due to the circumstance that he could get technical experts of the best type out of the graduates whom he paid as apprentices in the beginning. Here as elsewhere Mr. Tata had hit upon a deep principle, *viz.*, that better technical experts can be made out of men who had undergone a course of liberal education than out of those who came to the line without such lights, and it is indeed surprising to find that this principle has not been adopted by other mill-owners to any appreciable extent. It serves to throw Mr. Tata's penetrating intellect into broad relief against the dark background of his fellow-workers in the same field with their mechanical methods and conservative instincts. But Mr. Tata's reforms did not stop here. He introduced another with equally great success. The manufacture of commercial articles when conducted on a large scale involves the employment of men who are entrusted with administrative duties. The management of the concern is divided up into a number of hands who have powers of employing labourers, settling their pay and dismissing them. Those subordinates are generally very ill-paid and are always exposed to the temptation of increasing their miserable pay by a system of illicit gratification. Mr. Tata's eye caught the

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evil at an early stage, and he succeeded in stopping it very efficaciously. Like all great men he possessed the gift of hitting upon the right men; his choice always fell upon men fitted for his requirements, and he secured these men from temptations by paying them more liberally. Good treatment and liberal salary always attached his subordinates to himself so that they never as a rule severed their connection till they retired; and the savings which they were enabled to make were invested in Mr. Tata's own enterprises, thus strengthening the moral bond between himself and his subordinates. In regard to human services, as much as in regard to inanimate objects of utility, it is true to say that dear-bought things ultimately prove the cheapest, and Mr. Tata not only understood the principle but systematically enforced it in practice.

Encouraged by the extraordinary success which had attended the mills at Nâgpur, Mr. Tata thought of starting another mill on the same lines in 1885. He selected Pondicherry for the site of his new mill, and a company was floated for the purpose. His object was to introduce the manufactured goods of our country into the French colonies without paying the prohibitive duties of their financial system. But such a mill was not fated to be started. The project was soon abandoned; and the capital destined for the Pondicherry mill was absorbed in the purchase of the Dharamsey mill at Coorla, which changed its name, later on, into the more familiar Swadeshi Mill under Mr. Tata's management.

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The working of the Swadeshi Mill under his guidance was attended as usual with success, but what was more important, it had a direct effect on the organization and working of the Bombay mills in general. It was he who first commenced in the Coorla Mills the spinning of higher counts and the production of superior qualities of woven goods, an example which was subsequently followed by other Bombay mill-owners. Mr. Tata moreover introduced the system of opening shops in different towns where his own agents could secure a market for the goods produced by his mills; and here too, the success which he met with induced others to follow in his footsteps.

It was in connection with the idea of spinning finer counts that the question first presented itself of growing long staple cotton in the country, like the Egyptian cotton. The results of experiments carried on in Government farms had been discouraging, so far as the growth of Egyptian cotton in the country was concerned. It was only so late as 1896 that Mr. Tata entered the public lists with a pamphlet in which he stated the results of his own studies on the subject, and made a personal appeal to all who might be interested in the matter to try the experiments for themselves. He was of opinion that the Government experiments had failed, because there had been "too great reliance on foreign skill and experience, without sufficient effort to obtain any advantage from local native experience." "Now let us see" he wrote, "if the people themselves with their own means and their own experience

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of ages may not succeed in ordinary and individual trials on their own account." He then gave a detailed description of the methods of cotton-growing as prevailing in Egypt, which he had personally observed, and pointed out Sind as the province where such experiments might be particularly successful, as there was a great general resemblance between the climatic conditions and the natural features of Sind and Egypt. It was only Mr. Tata's insight that could lead him to move in a matter which had obviously no immediate interest for the mill-owners or the cotton-growers. He could see that the vast and growing demand for cloth of a finer quality in India was one which the Indian mills could not adequately meet, so long as the country itself was not in a position to grow long-stapled cotton. He could perceive that the local production of cloth of such finer quality would obviate the necessity for large importation of foreign goods, and develop to that extent a new industry in the country. He thought that the Indians would largely benefit by the supply of the same superior qualities of cloth at cheaper rates, since the price of such home-grown cotton would be steadier and cheaper to the extent of the cost of transportation.

We may grant for the moment, with Mr. Tata's critics, that he was over sanguine in his expectations; that the province of Sind differs essentially in its climatic conditions from Egypt; that the cotton plant when moved from one district to

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another changes in a most erratic fashion to adapt itself to the new environments; that, in short, it is not possible to grow Egyptian cotton on a large scale in India. We may grant that experiments may have actually demonstrated, as is maintained at times, the fruitlessness of such attempts. But that does not depreciate in any way the significance of Mr. Tata's agitation in connection with the experiments. It was he who, for the first time, made an appeal to the people to determine for themselves distinctly whether such a project was not feasible on Indian soil; it was he who laboured through his friends to have definite results on the question, and had he lived to carry out his ideas in connection with the experiments, he might have advanced the processes of cotton cultivation, and shown the way for improvements in the existing methods. The experiments in Mysore that he contemplated in connection with the growth of long stapled cotton might have brought to light more definite results, and perhaps strengthened the favourable results arrived at through experiments at the Government farm at Nâgpur, where Mr. Tata's suggestion of raising the crop as a *rabi* crop and not as a *kharif* crop was carried out. Whatever may have been the outcome of Mr. Tata's experiments his pamphlet at any rate served to indicate the greatness of his mind, which, not content with present gains, thought of the future prosperity of the country and suggested ways in which it could be promoted.

But time has proved the best vindicator of Mr. Tata's insight. An important press note has been

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issued by the Bombay Government, only a few months back, on the subject of the cultivation of Egyptian cotton in Sind, containing extracts from the Report of the Director of Agriculture and a Government Resolution on these extracts. It appears from this press note that the cultivation of Egyptian cotton could be successfully undertaken in Sind, and that such cultivation promises a most useful development in that province for the future. But not a word appears in the Resolution alluding to the laudable efforts of one who was far in advance of his times.

The pamphlet was a sort of commentary on the apathy of the rest of his countrymen who, absorbed in their own immediate interests were incapable of even appreciating the value of Mr. Tata's suggestions; and now that the healthy presence of his active mind is gone from us, the question of growing long stapled cotton will be a question of experiments in Government farms at the most. It will be a question of academic discussion amongst experts; it will afford scope for a pretty long dissertation in a supplement to the Dictionary of Economic Products. Its vital connection with the interests of the country, which Mr. Tata so vividly realised while he lived, will disappear with his death; and while many will talk like him, there is hardly one in the whole country who will act like him, and sacrifice money and energy, body and mind, in the pioneer work of a new enterprise.

But it was not Egyptian cotton alone that engaged Mr. Tata's attention with reference to the question of

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the capacities of Indian soil; American cotton also now and again swimmed within the ken of his vision; and, as late as 1903, he came out with a pamphlet of extracts from an American publication on cotton culture. It was intended to enlighten those of his countrymen who were endeavouring to grow American cotton seed in India; it was a kind of training that he was giving to his countrymen in this fashion, a training that might enable them to become aware of the dominant factors in the cotton industry that were to govern the future, and thus to place themselves in a position of advantage in the coming, and even already raging, struggle. It was the prophet of the future, pointing out to the multitude the land of milk and honey, which they would gain through the conditions he had so clearly indicated.

The Tata whom we have been considering upto now is the Tata who succeeded in carrying through the pioneer enterprise that he had undertaken from his early years; it is the successful career of the mill-owner and organiser that we have traced so far. There are two more important significant movements which require to be noticed before we have done with this—one of the most important aspects of his life.

The first movement that we have to notice is usually known as the war of freights. It was a war carried on between Mr. Tata and the Japanese Steamship Company, known as the Nippon Yusen Kaisha on the one hand and the combined organisation of the European Companies—the formidable Peninsular and

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Oriental Steam Navigation Company, the Austrian Lloyd's Company and the Italian Rubattino Company. These three latter had combined to secure a monopoly of the freight on goods between India, China and Japan. It was under the guidance and guarantee of Messrs. Tata and Sons that the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in 1893 determined to carry cotton and yarn at Rs. 13 a ton against Rs. 17 charged by the P. & O. and the allied companies. The latter, bent on killing out the movement by an artificial reduction of rates, retaliated by reducing their own rates to the nominal figure of Rs. 2 a ton, and subsequently to one Rupee. It was a critical time for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha but it kept firm, and was supported by the Japanese Government in this firm attitude. Mr. Tata on his side came out with a pamphlet in which he appealed to the public throughout the English-speaking world against the injustice of the three allied companies, and carried his agitation against the triumvirate even to the Parliament in England. The struggle against such heavy odds at length resulted in Mr. Tata's success. The P. & O. Company and their associates abandoned their nominal rates, and raised them to those of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Having done his part of the task so nobly as agent of the Japanese Company, Mr. Tata withdrew from the work; and the Japanese Company in 1896, launched out for themselves, and opened their own office in Bombay. The direct benefits which accrued to the public, and to the mill-industry in particular, were due to the enter-

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prise of the firm of Tata and Co, who personally shared in the undertaking and succeeded by perseverance and agitation in breaking down an invidious and unjust combination. It is true that the Japanese could well have afforded from the beginning to run their ships at a lower cost than other Companies, with the advantage of cheap coal and cheaper labour; but without the help they received through the enterprise of the Bombay Parsee firm they could not have managed to beat down the opposition and obstruction of their rivals in the field. The cheapness in freights which resulted from this struggle has not only promoted the import of cotton alone, but has incidentally led to the development of the trade in coal and copper with Japan.

The other movement that remains to be noticed was the endeavour made by Mr. Tata to secure skilled labourers for the Bombay mills, who would not periodically shift from place to place, thereby dislocating the successful working of the mills. The men, who were generally employed in the Bombay Mills on the manufacture of finer kinds of goods, and who were trained after some difficulties to their duties, which required skill, would not stick to their work for a long period, and frequently, before they acquired the necessary aptitude for their technical work, left for their native place, where they had their land to till. Mr. Tata came out, as early as 1893, with a pamphlet on the subject and, proposed that the mills should employ labourers from places like Cawnpore who would have no temptation to shift from their work at

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periodical intervals. The question was taken up by the Mill-owners Association in 1897, but owing to a number of causes the experiment did not meet with any remarkable success. It was the time of plague, when the ravages of the disease in Bombay had created an unparalleled havoc amongst the lower classes; and the men who were brought from upper India soon found their way back to their homes. What was more, the men who were brought out were *budmashes*, the scum of the labouring class, who, even had they remained in Bombay, would not have answered to the expectations entertained about them.

But the successful mill-owner and the pioneer of the cotton industry does not exhaust the Mr. Tata of actual history; and we have now to notice his activity in other industrial spheres. The silk industry of India was once upon a time a flourishing industry, and Indian silk commanded as good a reputation in the world's market as does the Chinese or the Japanese silk at the present day. Even as late as the times of Hyder and Tipoo, the State of Mysore found one of the most fruitful sources of its revenue in the culture of the silk-worm. But a variety of causes tended to stop the development of the industry, and though the silk trade continued to be carried on in various parts of the country, it practically died out as a large industry. The system of work employed in our own days by the native cultivators of Mysore has been found to be so primitive and inefficient that there can be no surprise if the industry has practically ceased

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to maintain an export trade, and is hardly sufficient for local purposes. The Mysore sericulturist still employs the process of boiling the cocoons for destroying the worms, instead of the more scientific process of destroying them by the application of dry heat, with the natural result that the staple deteriorates in value. The system of reeling is equally unsound and adds to the depreciation in the value of the silk. Experts have estimated that the deterioration thus resulting from the employment of primitive processes amounts to so much as 40 to 45%. Mr. Tata's keen eye grasped the main features of the problem, and he began to set himself to work out a regeneration of the silk industry in Mysore. He realised that the climate of Mysore was specially favourable for the propagation of the silk-worm, and the large number of old mulberry trees, scattered throughout the various districts of Mysore, pointed out to him the circumstance that the tree was an indigenous plant suited to the soil and hardly requiring artificial help for its growth. He observed that the caterpillars throve immensely without any care or attention, wherever food was available for them. He concluded that the silk industry in Mysore would have a brilliant future before it, if only the native cultivators could be taught to appreciate the value of improved processes, with reference to the culture of the mulberry, the breeding of the worms, the destruction of the worms in the cocoons and the reeling of the silk thread, amongst other things.

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But how was this idea to be carried out? How were the old-fashioned cultivators to have their eyes opened to the usefulness of improvements on their traditional method ? Mr. Tata proposed to call in an expert from Japan for this purpose, who might be placed in charge of an experimental silk farm to be started in the Mysore territory under facilities offered by the Mysore Government. Native cultivators might be selected by the Government or otherwise, and they might receive the necessary training in the farm as apprentices. The world has always preferred to hoot down and crown with abuses its best men, and Mr. Tata could not be exempt from his share of obloquy. The proposal to call a Japanese expert was soon magnified into a proposal to call in a whole colony of Japanese cultivators who were to elbow aside the unfortunate native cultivators of Mysore, and to exploit the resources of the land with the aid of foreign capital. A bold step in the interest of an uncared-for class of artisans was transformed into an interested and fatal move, which was to end by adding a number of expert foreigners to the population already burdening the soil. "O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee!"

Well, the expert from Japan—the single solitary expert and not the host of experts of the popular imagination—has been called; an experimental farm has been started near Bangalore under the recognition and moral support of the Mysore Government, and the

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results have been so far uniformly hopeful. The silk produced under the new methods is decidedly superior to the silk produced by the native cultivators, and sells at a decidedly higher price in the London markets. The machinery involved in the application of the new methods is of the simplest kind, and is within the reach of the cultivators on the principle of co-operation. A number of cultivators and other youths have been taken in as apprentices at the farm, and are regularly initiated into the use of the new processes. Already the native cultivators think it better to sell their ripe cocoons to the experimental farm than to draw the silk for themselves. The time seems to be drawing nigh when with the help of a sympathetic native Government the new processes can be applied on a larger scale, and the experimental farm transformed into a thriving and extended business. Even the slow moving Imperial Department of Agriculture has recognised the value of the farm; the Government of India have sanctioned the establishment of a silk farm at Pusa, which is to be managed on the lines of Mr. Tata's farm; and several men were expressly sent to Bangalore by the Inspector General of Agriculture to receive the necessary training in Japanese methods. If ever the silk industry of Mysore again becomes a flourishing staple of commerce and assumes an extensive development, the credit of it will necessarily go to the man who so energetically came forward to help it in a period of public indifference, and who set it on the right

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basis when it would have died out altogether through the clumsy treatment of clumsier methods.

From silk to mining was a large step, but it was an easy transition for a mind of Mr. Tata's type. It would be an interesting topic to describe the successive steps by which Mr. Tata was led to entertain the project of opening iron mining works in the Central Provinces; but a sense of proportion forbids us from such an attempt. The presence of iron of an excellent quality in the district of Chanda in the Central Provinces was referred to, as early as 1862, by Sir Richard Temple, in his first administration report. Since that time the attention of qualified experts was frequently drawn to these iron regions, and the most favourable opinions were pronounced. One of them, Major Mahon, wrote in 1873, referring to the Lohara ore, "I have never seen anything equal to the massive richness of the pure black specular ore heaped up in huge rocks which constitute the lode." He thought that at least two millions of tons of ore were available from the hill where the main lode lies. It has been ascertained that the ore contains 67 per cent to 70 per cent of iron—a proportion higher even than that which can be obtained by the laboratory produced compound. In addition to Lohara, four other districts, equally promising, have been discovered in the same provinces.

The natives have been endeavouring to work up a part of this ore in their own primitive fashion, but with results extremely unsatisfactory. The attention of

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the Government having been drawn to these districts, an attempt was made by them to work up the ore with charcoal, but it was soon proved impracticable and the works had to be closed in the early eighties of the last century. It was found impracticable to use charcoal, except as an accessory and in small quantities. Charcoal having proved unworkable, coal was had recourse to, and a project was discussed with reference to the ores being worked with the help of the Warrora Colliery Works in 1876. The experiments in connection with this project carried on by Mr. Ness are interesting, as confirming the hopes which Mr. Tata later on entertained with reference to the successful working of the mines. With the help of the Pittburg process of making steel he ascertained that steel of an extraordinary excellence could be produced with the Warrora coal. The results were so favourable that Government decided to spend £ 25,000 in small works and furnaces to make a start. But the Afghan war broke out and Government found itself unable to apply its funds to the scheme. The scheme thus abandoned was never afterwards taken up; and, in 1894, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces declared that the future of the iron industry in Chanda must be left to private enterprise.

And private enterprise was not long in coming. Mr. Tata's mind had been from an early time directed to the existence of the iron ores, and he had an important share in the experiments in smelting iron with Warrora coal which had been carried on under Government

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direction. He now came forward to see for himself the practicabitity of working the coal in connection with the iron, and experts in Germany and America were consulted. The difficulties of working with inferior coal were removed owing to the progress recently made in the method of coking. Government apathy was for once rudely shaken by the promise of the Secretary of State to help Mr. Tata to the best of his abilities; and a visit to England, which led to the Secretary of State's promised support just referred to, was also instrumental in arranging for a syndicate to be formed in the future for the organisation of the enterprise. A scheme for a trial plant costing about £ 30,000, and intended to work for a few months, was projected; and a second visit to the continent was made in 1902, with a special view to studying the conditions of the project and investigating the methods of success. All the preliminaries were settled, and the final results of experiments carried on in America were awaited, when death carried away the life and soul of the movement.

The report of the experts has since come, it has endorsed a favourable—an extremely favourable—verdict for the success of the iron mines, and it is stated that the works will soon be opened by private enterprise without even Government guarantee. The sons of Mr. Tata have followed in the wake of their father, and a syndicate has been formed consisting mostly of English capitalists for carrying out the project. A large local demand for steel is said to exist in the country,

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and the development of the industry might give a great impetus to the development of cognate enterprises in other parts of India. Whatever, be the future of the iron mining industry in the country, there can be no hesitation in saying that it will have been mainly indebted for its development to the energetic action of the Parsee millionaire of Bombay. It was he who reduced an academic and abstract question to a question of practical and immediate interest; it was he who transported it from the cloud-land of imagination to the solid earth, and from a theoretic basis set it on a thoroughly scientific groundwork. And though others may gain the credit of starting the enterprise, they will have done nothing more than exploiting for themselves the materials which Mr. Tata's action placed within their reach. So it was when the labours of Tronchet and the Revolution Lawyers received the appellation of the Code Napoleon, so it will be when a future Iron Mining Company works the resources of the Central Provinces which Mr. Tata's endeavours first made accessible.

In his later years Mr. Tata had in mind also a scheme for converting water power into electric power at Lanowlee, which would have had a great deal of influence in the development of the projects for working electric trams, and for electric lighting in Bombay. The project was evidently suggested to him by observation of the successful working of the electric works at the Cauvery Falls in Mysore, which supplied electric power to the Kolar Gold Mines and were soon to supply

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electric lighting to Bangalore. The practicability of the scheme was fully demonstrated after his death, when his sons carried out the idea. The scheme has been floated, and put on a working basis; and application has been made to the local Government to give to the Company the powers and privileges necessary to carry it out. It is needless to point out here the obvious advantages of a cheap supply of electric power both to industry and to private comforts.

His building enterprise in and outside the island of Bombay is another noticeable feature in his varied life. The many large buildings in the Fort, and on the Apollo Bunder, with the latest sanitary improvements and comforts, bear witness amongst other things to his activity in this direction. They provide a long felt want for the better classes, and combine all the comforts of a residence out of the city with the advantages of residing near the centre of business. Attempts have frequently been made to depreciate the value of such buildings, on the plea that they only provide for the comforts of the upper classes, for whose use alone they are meant. Whatever be the cogency of such pleas, there can be no doubt that the purpose for which they have been built has been successfully carried out, and they add to the beauties of beautiful Bombay.

Looking for a moment to the same activity as it displayed itself outside the city of Bombay, we find Mr. Tata during the last years of his life, busy with a scheme

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for providing comfortable residences for the middle and lower middle classes of the city, in the Salsette island, in the immediate vicinity of Bandra. A large area has been purchased, and comfortable and airy blocks have been built to the number of more than ten, providing accomodation each for a number of families. Metalled roads cross and recross, connecting the blocks with one another and with the high roads. We are told Mr. Tata was thinking of having a separate market for his new colony, and providing other comforts for the residents. The rents have been kept sufficiently low to enable the lower middle classes to take advantage of the opportunity. Those who, only keeping in view his building enterprise in the city itself, are inclined to assert that he did nothing for the question of the housing of the poor, entirely neglect the kind of work that he did in the vicinity of Bandra. Not only so, but when Government levied building fines on agricultural land in the Thana district, he it was, who fought in the interests of all house-owners and the large classes of men, who had taken advantage of such suburban residences, and represented to Government the inadvisability of thus checking the growth of a movement which was so important for the sanitary interests of Bombay and its people. In view of the fact that the expansion of Bombay in the future depended upon that of its suburbs, he saw that every possible encouragement required to be given to building enterprise in those suburbs; and with that broad object before him,

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he set to work by planting a new colony of buildings, whose success might stimulate others.

But by far the largest space in his building enterprise is occupied by the erection of the Taj Mahal Hotel on the Apollo Bunder. This is not the place to enter into the details of this magnificent monument of his building activities; suffice it to say that the Hotel stands unrivalled for its comforts as the Hotel in India and even over Asia. The climatic inconveniences of a tropical city like Bombay have been mitigated as far as possible by the contrivances and situation of this *premier* palace. It commands a beautiful outlook on both sides to the sea, and the fresh breezes blowing to and fro leave a part of their blessings for the residents of the Hotel. The latest inventions for human comfort, good lighting, cool air, best food are provided for, along with what is a novelty for India—a Turkish bath. For European visitors to India, accustomed to the comforts of continental hotels, Bombay's two or three minor hotels left a great many things to be desired; and it is these desiderata that the Taj supplies to the full. Even in the hottest season none can now say that Bombay life is unpleasant, if he stays in the Taj.

There remains now one more feature, and that the most important, of Mr. Tata's life to be noticed. It refers to his faith in education, and the efforts that he made in the cause of education. In 1891 he organised a scheme by which Parsee youths could be sent to England, to qualify themselves for the higher branches of learning,

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or to compete either for the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Medical Service Examinations. He set apart a fund for that purpose, out of which advances were to be made to those who took advantage of the scheme, and which they were to return by instalments, when they had settled in good positions in the country. This fund was soon thrown open to Indians in general, and many have taken advantage of a facility which the broad views of the Parsee merchant placed within their reach. The impress which higher education had made on his own mind had never left him, and he believed that Western education and Western training in the sciences and the higher branches of learning, which Indians might thus receive, would be highly instrumental in the development and the material progress of the country.

This idea assumed a more tangible, and a more significant shape, when a few years before his death he first thought of establishing a Research University for India. The scheme and the amount of endowment promised by Mr. Tata on his own behalf was announced on the 28th of September 1898. But long before it was announced, Mr. Tata had consulted educational experts in Europe and America, and through the specially appointed Secretary of the Institute, Mr. B. J. Padshah, had made the patient and preliminary investigations which, in his case, always preceded the formation of definite projects. The right man had been hit upon in the person of Mr. Padshah, a choice singularly felicitous in all ways; and after a careful study of the research insti-

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tutions in England and on the Continent, the project was definitely put before the public in 1898. The scheme in its first form proposed the establishment of a post-graduate university for all India, independent of the local universities, and under Government legislation conferring degrees and diplomas of its own, on students who came up to the required standard of attainments. A scheme of studies was recommended which included three representative branches of knowledge: (1) Scientific and Technical Department (2) Medical Department and (3) Philosophical and Educational Department. Mr. Tata proposed on his own part to place at the disposal of the Institute or University, property to the extent of Rs. 30,00,000 on certain conditions. But as it was found that the successful working of the whole scheme would involve an initial expenditure of about 15 lakhs of Rupees and an annual charge of about 3 lakhs, a provisional committee was appointed to secure the necessary financial support by making a general appeal for funds, and to take the preliminary steps in connection with the scheme. A deputation of the Provisional Committee waited on Lord Curzon in January 1899, taking advantage of His Excellency's presence in Bombay, to lay before him the scheme of the proposed University, and to appeal to him for the help and co-operation of the Imperial Government in connection therewith. The deputation requested His Excellency to lend the support of his Government in facilitating the work of special legislation which the University would

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require, to lend his moral support to the scheme by a general approval of its ultimate designs, and if possible to lend a material support in the way of a grant to the institution from the Imperial treasury. Lord Curzon promised to do his best, and soon afterwards negotiations were set on foot for the carrying out of the scheme.

But it was soon found that the support which Mr. Tata expected either from the Government of India, or the Native Princes, or private benevolence was not so rapidly forthcoming; and that though appreciation of the scheme in word and on paper was abundant and overflowing, there was a general indifference when it came to a question of putting one's hand into one's purse. The Mysore Government showed its willingness to dovote a fund of about five lakhs and a half of Rupees which they had at their disposal to the purposes of the scheme on certain conditions; but that was the only solitary exception—the only oasis in the bleak, unfruitful desert of Indian public apathy. It was found that the scheme in its entirety could not be started, and accordingly Prof. Ramsay, who was called specially to report on the practicability of the scheme, reduced it to an institute for research work in the experimental sciences. He hit upon Bangalore as the site for the proposed University owing to its climatic advantages, and owing to the facilities which the Mysore Government promised. The scheme was further modified by the report which Prof. Masson and Colonel Clibborn made in 1901. They

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proposed Rookree as a site preferable to Bangalore, if monetary considerations did not come in the way; and they further reduced the scope of the scheme as framed by Prof. Ramsay by proposing to do without a professor of Technology during the initial stages of the University. The Post-Graduate University, therefore, in its final stage attained the shape of an Institute for Researches in certain definite experimental sciences, closely connected with Indian industries.

Late in the day the Gondal State came forward with a comparatively meagre offer to support the Institute, provided it was located in its own territories. It was an offer that gave occasion to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan's appeal to the citizens of Bombay to come forward with a liberal donation in support of a movement so pregnant of promises. The conditions, however, with which the offer of the Gondal State was saddled, were too impracticable to be complied with; and the appeal of Dr. Mackichan fell on indifferent hearts. The Indians have shown that they are ever ready to speak proudly of their national sentiments and to grow jubilant over the cry of Swadeshism; but all their pride ends where it begins, *viz.*,—in speech; and a project than which none else can promote better the cause of Swadeshism has found not a single supporter amongst the thousands of the socalled patriots.

But public indifference was not the only difficulty which the scheme had to encounter. The slow moving machinery of the Indian Government could not be made

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to work faster for the sake of the proposed Institute, and difficulties arose in the course of negotiations, which have not yet been finally settled. The Government expressed its willingness to make an initial grant of Rs. 2,50,000 and an annual grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,000, on conditions which involved that the valuation of the trust property as made by their own officer should be accepted as the basis of calculation. The choice of a principal for the Institute has at last been made, and he is now at Bangalore making the preliminary arrangements for the buildings and the scope of the subjects.

Let us now bring this short, and we fear inadequate, sketch to a close. Ill-health had for some time been undermining Mr. Tata's strength, and he was advised to go to the Continent. During his stay at Nauhiem in Germany he was suddenly prostrated on what was to prove his death-bed, and on Thursday, 19th May 1904, passed off to "that bourne from which no traveller returns."

Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep!
He hath awakened from the dream of life.
'Tis we, who lost in stormy visions, keep
With phantoms an unprofitable strife,
And in mad trance strike with our spirits' knife
Invulnerable nothings."

Such was the end of this remarkable Indian, cut off in the midst of life at the age of 65, with his greatest

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projects still incomplete and carrying to the grave with him the many-sided activities of his life. For, it may be possible to find hereafter an Indian millionaire with the business tact of Mr. Tata. It may be easy to find many who will have as broad conceptions as Mr. Tata, but without that energy or intellect which enabled him so easily to pass from ideas to facts. What is, however, difficult to obtain again for many a year is a man of Mr. Tata's type, with the combination of head and heart, with all the manifold versatility of character that distinguished him in his actions. For through-out the career of this man we find the most practical insight into business combined with the largest ideas and the broadest conceptions, a readiness to seize the passing opportunity combined with the most venturesome spirit of enterprise, an intellect capable of grasping the minutest details along with the most abstract principles. In him the reality of life and success in it were too earnest beliefs to be ever lost sight of for a moment, yet they were not left entirely unsupplemented by a tinge of idealism, a belief in a liberal education and in the scientific training imparted by the higher studies. A keen æsthetic taste for the beautiful, the poetic eye of an artist, subsisted side by side with the prosaic capacities of a great manufacturer and a successful merchant. It is this combination of so many opposite, yet really reconcilable qualities, which makes him a unique man, reminding us more of the Greeks of old, than anything else. Their versatility,

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their well-balanced temperament, their wel-proportioned development which, reconciled—or, for the matter of that, never called into question, the contrast between the material and the spiritual,the theoretical and the practical, the bodily and the mental,—all this is to be found in the life of this typical Greek of modern times. Who knows but that this may be a flash-light in the chronological horizon reminding us by its brightness of a truth which is often neglected and never sufficiently thought upon,—a truth which Mr. Kincaid, in an article in the *East & West*, expresses when he states that the Parsees as a race have been moulded since early times by Hellenic ideas and Hellenic civilization!

No great man has ever travelled life's paths without unconsciously raising enemies behind him, and so it happened with Mr. Tata. There have been many, who have questicned the disinterestedness of Mr. Tata's actions, and doubted the usefulness of his life for the country in general. They ask, "Where is the usefulness of a life that has been absorbed in the development of a personal fortune through an alert and enterprising spirit?" No one would indeed make bold to say that the energies of Mr. Tata were not devoted to the making of his own personal fortune. But if it is good to venture on the development of an industry which has hitherto no history and life, if it is meritorious in well-advanced industries to strike out improvements and adopt new methods, which involve large sacrifices of immediate gains, and which have been hitherto neglected,

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and if it is meritorious to venture on unfrequented paths with the view that they may lead to unexpected benefits for the country at large,—and this even at the risk of personal loss,-Mr. Tata's life was decidedly useful and meritorious. That Mr. Tata did not take an active part in the Congress movement has been construed into a want of sympathy with it, and turned into a crime. That he did not actively join in purely political agitation has been interpreted into total indifference on his part to the interests of his country. It has been averred that his whole life had been absorbed in the selfish pursuits of money-making, that the patriot and the citizen of a wider world was lost in the business man and the capitalist. Is there any need to try and answer these flimsy charges? Is it necessary to show that the capitalist who uses his capital successfully in the development of old industries and in the organisation of new ones, though benefitting himself in the first place, does benefit equally his country at large?

What is more important is to note that if it is necessary for the future welfare of India that her predominating agricultural organisation should be gradually supplemented by an industrial organisation, the man who employs his powers, his brain and his capital alike in the development of such industries is as true a patriot as any other. Mr. Tata not only developed the old industries already existing in his time, he not only endeavoured to regenerate—if not regenerated—a few which were dying out through the stagnant conservatism of methods and

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processes, like the silk industry of Mysore; but he also opened the eyes of his countrymen, for the first time, to the existence of mineral resources like iron and copper, which if properly worked, would give India a first place in the rank of wealthy countries. It would indeed be a queer use of the word patriot which refused to include in its scope a man of this stamp, with the record of life that he has to show for himself. Even the application of foreign capital in the development of Indian industries has been frequently approved of, in view of the fact that an industrial era for the country would mean a new lease of life to the nation. How much more, therefore, should that approval extend to the enterprising Indian millionaire who would obviate the necessity for the influx of such foreign capital! Mr. Tata's use of his talents has entitled him to be called the "good and faithful servant" of the Prophet's parable; of him it may well be said that he shall "enter into the joy of his Lord;" for unto every one "that hath" there is promised abundance.

But it was not only to the development and organisation of industries that Mr. Tata's energies were confined. He went further and endeavoured to produce men for India, who with their scientific and technological attainments would make it their life-business to organise new industries and evolve new combinations of old industries. Struck by the example of Japan, he desired to see Indians attaining to the highest scientific knowledge of the West, and prepared to utilise it for practical applications in the interests of their own

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country. It was with this end in view that he had endowed scholarships for Indians, which might enable them to qualify themselves for any of the higher branches of knowledge and science; it was with this view that he proposed the magnificent endowment of 30 lakhs for a Research University. It was to be an *école polytechnique* on the largest scale, where the future secretaries of future Tatas were to receive that training which would enable them to carry on and complete the work, which Mr. Tata commenced in his life-time–the work of remodelling the economic conditions of old India.

The University scheme has been frequently run down as unpractical—the imaginative dream of a theorist and ideologist. It has been denounced by the Parsees, on the all-convincing plea that the cosmopolitan nature of the charity renders its use and benefit to Parsees insignificant. Its utility has been questioned even by those educated sections of Indian public opinion, who proposed in the Congress of 1899 to omit a vote of thanks to Mr. Tata for the magnificence of his gift. It has been treated with superciliousness by the Indian Government and its leaders, who, Western as they are, might have been expected to welcome with enthusiasm a project for the dissemination of Western knowledge. It has evoked no practical enthusiasm from the Indian public except the lip-sympathy and the lip-enthusiasm so cheap and so pleasant both to the giver and the receiver. Launched forth at an unfortunate point of time, the scheme has been buffeted by the waves hither

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and thither, tossed from headland to headland, battered down by striking against rocks and rubbing against the sandy depths. There is little wonder if prophets of evil have cried out that it will soon perish and be engulfed by an untimely fate in the waters of eternity, from which nothing human escapes in the end. And though that prophecy of evil is not likely to be fulfilled, the scheme will not escape disfigurement at impure hands. Profaned at the touch and by the handling of less sympathetic and more prosaic brains, mangled and tortured out of its original harmony, it will be carried out in the future under the ægis of Government support and control. Not that private control is always to be preferred to Government control. In the case of the Bombay University, semi-independence of Government control, such as it hitherto enjoyed, did not enable it to move with the times and shake off its stagnant conservatism. Independence, however, of Government support in such a case would mean the absence of those routine methods, which would be so particularly fatal to the working of a scheme like the present.

But the Research University Scheme will at any rate bear evidence to the greatness of the mind that conceived it, and of the heart that materially supported it by such a liberal and handsome gift. It is not every man who has the mind to put forth before the world such great ideas,—much less the practical, business-bred man with his narrow grooves of thought and action. The two sisters of Bethany ordinarily represent two types

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of life; the one represents the life of the majority of men—living, struggling, fuming under self-imposed tasks, constituting life by small additions, and gathering an empiric wisdom that looks back on the beginning from the end; the other represents that rarer type of persons who instead of spelling the little syllables of existence interpret for us its great meaning, and are endowed with that reflective insight, that discerns the end from the beginning. If it is possible to find in things of material interest a combination of those qualities which in the spiritual sphere are represented by Martha and Mary, a combination of patient study of details with the soaring flight of bold ideas and conceptions, it is found in the organizer of the Research University Scheme. That thorough faith which Mr. Tata had in the possibility of the regeneration of the country through Western sciences, which peeps forth in every detail of the University proposal, has been realised and proved at any rate in the case of Japan; but even if it were not so proved, the scheme with its offer of substantial help proclaimed that India had one man, who in spite of all that his enemies said against him, was a patriot and more than a patriot.

And now that he is sleeping calmly in his grave at Brookwood may we not address to him the poet's sympathetic words?

"Now is done thy long day's work;
Fold thy palms across thy breast,

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Fold thine arms, turn to thy rest.
Let them rave.

Shadows of the silver birk
Sweep the green that folds thy grave.
Let them rave.

Wild words wander here and there;
God's great gift of speech abused
Makes thy memory confused:
But let them rave.
The balm-cricket carols clear
In the green that folds thy grave.
Let them rave.

The introduction of machinery into a land of old fashioned industries must necessarily be attended with temporary displacement of existing labouring interests; and so it frequently happened in the life of Mr. Tata. He was frequently abused for thus neglecting the interests of particular classes; he has been even abused by his own Parsees for not doing anything in particular for his own race. We wish history had preserved for us the story of the Luddite riots of the Naosari *Goranis*, the wives of the local Parsee priests, when their much esteemed townsman proposed to introduce an American machine for weaving *Kushtis*. Yet the abuses showered on the man who threatened to take away from their control a trade, monopolised for such a long time and sanctified by sacred traditions, were typical of those showered on him on a larger

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scale by his co-religionists and by his fellow-countrymen in general, when inspired by motives which we need not ascertain, they endeavoured to belittle his work and impeach its usefulness.

The cry has frequently been raised that Mr. Tata did nothing by way of charity in the interests of the poor and the down-trodden millions. But charity need not necessarily be confined to helping those who are helpless and starving. Mr. Tata all his life long believed that such schemes ultimately degenerate into institutions for feeding the lazy and encouraging idleness and guilt. The march of modern civilisation has always been at the expense and sacrifice of large classes of beings, who are either incompetent to struggle or too weak to survive. It has been a process of weeding, which leaves only healthy plants to grow and develop. Mr. Tata was impressed with this idea, and his life's aim was to help on the regeneration of India by helping those elements of Indian life, which still displayed symptoms of vitality, and leaving the rest to take care of themselves, to live or die. He was one of those who believed, like Renan, in the prosperity and well-being of a chosen race which involved, and involved inevitably the sacrifice of the rest, one of those whom the poet denounces as "proud and heart swollen" and "ready with a broom in their hands to rid the world of nuisances." This way of looking at things may be repugnant to the human heart which shudders at the anomalous sufferings of helpless creatures; it is repugnant to the philosopher who surveys the

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universe from a height, and for whom the idea of progress and civilisation is lost in the eternal nothingness. It is repugnant to the poet for whom

> *" 'Tis nature's law*
> *That none the meanest of created things,*
> *Should exist divorced from food."*

But it has its own place in the universe of ideas, and such men have their functions in the universal economy. Division of work has been found useful in the production of material wealth; let there be also division of labour in the case of charities, so that the work left undone by a Howard and a Florence Nightingale, a Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and a Raja Ram Mohun Roy, may be done all the more effectively by a Tata.

Such was the life of Mr. J. N. Tata, judged by what he did and what he proposed to do. His was not the life of the philosophic thinker, who merely dreams away his existence in beautiful visions of his country's spiritual welfare; not the life of the political agitator who talks over so enthusiastically, but only talks away the abstract benefits of political rights and political privileges for a minority of educated Indians. His was the quiet, unselfish life of a thorough man of business, who understood the needs of his country, and whilst working for himself worked energetically and enthusiastically for supplying his country's needs. He had all his life one settled conviction that for leading the

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"good life" which the world's greatest political philosopher assigned to the state as its end, it was essential that India should "merely" live in the first place; and for that physical life, for success in the struggle for existence, it needed a development of her resources. Such development of resources Mr. Tata made the object of his life, whether directly through his own endeavours or indirectly through the training of Indian youths in Western sciences under the ægis of his Research Institute.

If Byramji Malabari has sought to bring the East and the West together in the sphere of thought, Mr. Tata has endeavoured to achieve the same end in practice by teaching the usefulness of the application of Western sciences and Western industrial processes to the East. If the Parsees have been proud to possess a man of cosmopolitan sympathies in Mr. Malabari, they have no less reason to be proud of the cosmopolitan sympathies of Mr. J. N. Tata. And if the friends of Mr. Malabari have been reminded by his life of the life of Francis of Assissi, the friends of Mr. J. N. Tata may not unreasonably speak of an Indian Columbus discovering to his countrymen a vast continent of yet unexplored resources and undisturbed industrial wealth, which might be utilised for the advancement of the material and spiritual interests of the Indian nation. Those resources were lying scattered, like the body of Osiris, in a thousand directions over the land; and Isis had inspired Mr. Tata to wander in quest of them till

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they should be "gathered limb to limb and moulded into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

The visitor to Mr. Tata's Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay, as he ascends storey after storey of the building commands a beautiful view of the harbour of Bombay to the East, and island after island swims into his ken which he did not notice before; so likewise with the life of the founder of the Hotel himself. As we trace his remarkable career, island after island of the undiscovered material resources of India swim into our vision, bearing evidence to the energy and greatness of the great Captain of industries.

The memory of his personality is perhaps too vividly before our eyes to admit of a sound historical judgment on his life and his life's work; and a future biographer of Mr. J. N. Tata will appreciate his influence on his age and country with better effect:

"His triumph will be sung
By some yet unmoulded tongue
Far on in summers that we shall not see."

The twilight of his doings and sayings has not yet completely faded, and the shadows mingle too inextricably with the light to admit of an incisive demarcation of objects. With the brighter dawn of history, let us hope, the personality of Mr. J. N. Tata will grow and not lose in brightness and influence.

PESTONJI A. WADIA.

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VISHNU KRISHNA CHIPLUNKAR.

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VISHNU KRISHNA CHIPLUNKAR.

Among the pioneers of thought and the masters of the Marathi language that the Deccan produced during the last fifty years, the late Mr. Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar occupies a very high rank. In fact, from him may be said to date the class of publicists, who had decided upon private and independent careers as the only sure condition of effective public work in the cause of the regeneration of their nation.

Vishnu Shastri was born in a family of Kokanastha Brahmans who had long settled at a village called Pâwas, in the Ratnâgiri District. About the sixth or seventh of his ancestors, however, left the Konkana and fixed as his future home Tryambakeshwar, a place about fourteen miles from Nasik and sacred to Hindu pilgrims as containing the source of the holy river Godâwarî. The family made its fortune three generations later, when Mahadajipant, the great-grand-father of Vishnu Shastri, secured the Fadanishi or the revenue head-clerkship of the military establishment on the hill fort of Shri-Harsha, which is situated at a small distance from Tryambakeshwar. The office continued in the Chiplunkar family till the year 1812 when the lawlessness of one of the military Captains of the Peshwa ran riot in Poona and a change of fortune overtook several families in the Deccan territory. Haripant, who was the last to hold that office, came to

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Poona almost ruined and there took up service as an attendant to Chimanaji Appa, the younger brother of the second Bajirao. But the Peshwas themselves were destined ere long to be deprived of their power and to be practically deported from Poona. Haripant, however, refused to follow the fortunes of his new master in unknown lands and resolved to stick to Poona, where he began a humble career as a vendor of opium.

In these changed circumstances Haripant got in 1824 a son, who was destined to become famous, throughout the Deccan as a learned Pandit. Krishna Shastri, for that was the name of this son, was an exceptionally intelligent boy; and, under the able tuition of the illustrious Pandit Mor Shastri Sathe, he completed in a short time his studies in the Vedas, the Shastras, and the Sanskrit Classics. When Krishna Shastri was about twenty-four years of age, the first English-teaching class was opened in Poona in the Budhawar Wada; and a man of Krishna Shastri's intelligence and love of learning was naturally enough attracted to this class, which proved a portal leading the fathers of whole generations to come into the endless avenues of English literature and Western knowledge. Long before Macaulay fought and won the battles of English education in India, both for its own sake as well as for the sake of the many-sided Western learning and culture available through its channel, the contemporary generations of the young men at the Peshwa's Capital had decided in favour of English studies; and

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Mor Shastri is reported to have advised his brilliant pupil to betake to English, as the class of Pandits, who had studied according to old fashions and ideals, must soon cease to monopolise the popular attention and regard as before. The new studies of course proved as easy and attractive as the old ones to Krishna Shastri; and it is on record that, by his hard work as well as the power of his intellect, Krishna Shastri soon earned the admiration of Prof. Green, whose special subjects were History and Political Economy. His College studies were completed without any degree, as degrees were yet to be founded. But Government lost no time in recognizing the abilities and learning of Krishna Shastri by appointing him Translator and Exhibitioner. He was soon transferred to the Poona College as Assistant Professor of Marathi; and here began the Shastri's career as a Marathi Pandit and writer, a career in which he was fortunate enough to be excelled by his son later on.

About this time, Missionary preachers and writers, led by the well-known Rev. Murray Michell, had caused an amount of mischief and almost scandalized the Deccan by their artful attacks upon the Hindu religion which dazzled the weak vision of many an educated youth; and a united effort was made by some of the leading educated men in Poona to counteract the new seductive influences by starting a magazine called 'Vichâr Lahari' (Waves of Thought), specially devoted to this particular subject. The object of the magazine was

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soon achieved; and Krishna Shastri, having taken a leading part in the conduct of the journal, incurred the displeasure of the educational authorities, who retaliated by his suspension. But in those days, when educated men and especially scholars were a rarity, and politics was yet to be born, the displeasure of official superiors was less implacable; and through the kind offices of one of his European admirers, Krishna Shastri was soon restored to his place. It may, however, be noted in passing that Krishna Shastri looked upon his suspension rather with indifference and had even resolved to earn his livelihood as a journalist or a school-master, for any of which tasks he was evidently most fitted; and this incident sheds a side-light upon the bold step which his son took later on in throwing away his appointment and actually carrying out what his father had only intended, by successfully making a career as a journalist and a teacher. In 1850 Krishna Shastri was appointed Secretary to the Dakshina Prize Committee, a body whose function was to expend the sums of money, set apart by Government out of the Dakshina-fund, upon rewarding deserving Marathi authors. In 1865 he was appointed Principal of the Poona Training College, when he was also in charge of the educational journal called the '*Shala-patrak*;' and three years later he was promoted to the post of the Reporter on the Native Press, which office he held for ten years. Krishna Shastri is regarded as almost the first Marathi writer of repute. And although

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the purpose of his writings was invariably one of literary curiosity, pleasure or ambition, still he succeeded in conferring great obligations on the Marathi language by introducing what may be characterised as the popular style, which has been instrumental in enriching Marathi with numerous books on scientific and other subjects of Western knowledge. As a composer of sweet Marathi verses, Krishna Shastri was without a rival in his time; and his rendering of Kalidas's Meghaduta in the simple *Saki* metre is the delight of the Marathi reader even to this day. Among his prose works may be mentioned a translation of Johnson's 'Rasselas' and the 'Arabian Nights'; and his 'Elements of many-sided wisdom' is really a pioneer work of its kind. Vishnu Shastri had thus a rich literary heritage; but he only owed it to himself that he struck out an entirely new path, and, by the practical display of a stern independence of mind, developed to perfection the roots of the mental qualities which characterise the leading educated men of his generation.

Vishnu Shastri was born at Poona on the 20th of May 1850. He was the first child of his parents and consequently his bringing up naturally devolved upon an affectionate grand-father and grand-mother. The old couple were religious to the core, and the high moral character of Vishnu Shastri was in a way the result of his contact with them from early childhood. He learnt his alphabet from a private teacher, and

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completing the course of his primary education in the Infant School in the Budhawar Wada, entered the Poona High School in 1861. Among his teachers in the High School may be mentioned the late Mr. Kirkham and the late Mr. Waman Abaji Modak. In 1865 Vishnu Shastri passed his matriculation after a creditable career as a hard-working, intelligent and at the same time a perfectly 'gentlemanly' student. Even while studying in the High School, Vishnu Shastri acquired his intense love for Sanskrit literature. And it is said of his Sanskrit teacher, one Vaijapurkar, that though not on over-cordial terms with Krishna Shastri, he did not allow that fact to interfere with his relations towards Vishnu Shastri, in whom he took a special and also an affectionate interest. It was also in this early part of his life that Vishnu Shastri formed his personal attachments and aversions. His younger brother Lakshman was his constant companion, but his uncle Sitaram, who in his later life became a very famous man in the Deccan as the editor of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's journal, and the foremost political student of his time, second only to the late Mr. Justice Ranade, had tastes and tendencies, which interfered with Vishnu Shastri's relations with him. Vishnu Shastri had a large field to choose his companions from, as a number of boys of his age from among his collateral relations in the paternal as well as the maternal line either lived in the same house with him or used to frequent it every day. Reserved, if not taciturn by

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disposition, Vishnu Shastri was extremely discriminating in the selection of his confidents. He had a lining of humour to his mind even from his childhood; and though not actively participating in the common frivolities of the youths around him, he had a taste for appreciating every manifestation of a bright whole-some animalism and was not averse to encourage or even take part in pastimes from which innocent merriment or humour could be drawn. He was not given to gymnastic exercises, but usually kept sound health. His family circumstances at this time were comparatively prosperous, and Vishnu Shastri was happily saved the pangs of poverty which was the lot of his own father at his age. He never experienced any stint in point of books, furniture and similar other things, which mainly contribute to the happiness of a youthful student with a literary taste. Krishna Shastri never took a steady or consistent interest in the studies of his children; if he occasionally devoted a few minutes to teach or test Vishnu Shastri it was mainly because young Vishnu was the leader of the whole bunch of urchins and might be relied on to transfer to his juniors the benefits of any superior training that he himself might get; and in fact Vishnu had earned not a little of their affection and gratitude by the kindly assistance he rendered to them. In the same year in which he passed his matriculation, Vishnu Shastri was married to Kashibai, a niece of the late Rao Bahadoor Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide. She was endowed with beauty as well as the good training

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which is always to be looked for in the class of families to which her parents belonged.

Vishnu Shastri entered on his College studies in the beginning of the year 1866. The Deccan College, which was yet without a local habitation of its own, was shifted from the Vishrambag to a bungalow at Vanavadi pending the construction of its present buildings. Prof. Wordsworth, whose name is a household word among the older generations of college students, was at the head of the professorial staff, which at the time included such brilliant men as Mr. Oxenham, Dr. Keilhorn and the late R. B. Kero Lakshman Chhatre. Prof. Wordsworth had a peculiar though a kindly temperament, and his methods of tuition were calculated to benefit only such students as had a taste for a general reading and did not fix their eye only on the goal of the university examination. Vishnu Shastri was among such students owing to his inborn love for general culture. Though on account of his modest disposition he does not appear to have benefitted by close personal relations with the learned Principal, Vishnu Shastri had a great liking for such subjects as history and literature, but mathematics was his pet aversion. The only other teacher besides Prof. Wordsworth, by whose instruction Vishnu Shastri was benefitted, was the late Anant Shastri Pendharker, whose recitations and explanations of what may be called the *bon mots* or good sayings in Sanskrit interested his students the most. It was at this time that Vishnu Shastri made a choice collection of these *bon mots* and apt

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Sanskrit quotations, with which he effectively illustrated or agreeably embellished his writings in his post-graduate literary career. While at college he was free of mind with only a few well-chosen co-students, who, besides having his tastes and liking for literary studies, also shared the social pleasure in his pet exercises in the native gymnasium attached to the College or swimming in the Mula river which encircles the College grounds. His general reading, for the sake of which he spent two more years at College than would be otherwise necessary for completing his course upto the B. A., embraced not only the standard but even out-of-the-way-books in the English, Sanskrit and Marathi languages. He was a scholar in more senses than one, and he now and then won scholarships in the subject of languages and literature. A voracious reader of books, his mind was never captivated by what may be called current and what really is ephemeral literature, such as is to be found in abundance in the columns of the newspaper press. He did not like to make speeches in the debating club but he used to read carefully written papers which dealt with themes of serious import. In fact in these papers might be first discerned the views which characterised his writings afterwards in his famous journal the *Nibandh-Mala*. Throughout his College life he was a diligent student, though he never read much by lamp-light, and his evenings right up to bed-time would generally be taken up by critical discussions with his chosen friends upon the merits or

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de-merits of books and sometimes also individuals. By way of improving his composition he had kept up the habit of writing one Sanskrit exercise every week, which might give him a facility in writing a classical style. Being a man of few words and given pre-eminently to literary studies he had earned the nick-name of 'Addison' at the hands of his contemporaries; and he never succeeded in hiding under a bushel his unmistakable critical faculty and his power of appreciation of whatever was poetic, romantic or humorous in the wide range of life and actions of the whole lot of college boys. The source of his enlightenment and culture during this period of a highly impressionable and sensitized age consisted in the literary atmosphere which was created at home on account of his father, whose table was always spread over with the best literary productions of the time and often surrounded by many a learned visitor who might call upon Krishna Shastri, the great pandit and literary luminary of his time. It was Vishnu Shastri's delight at this time to read these books and study the critical judgments passed upon them by his father in his capacity as revisor or examiner on behalf of the Dakshina Prize Committee. And one can imagine the pleasure and estimate the edification which Vishnu Shastri must have received while sitting unobserved near his father's study and listening with rapt attention to the discussions and debates on all manner of subjects between his father and the leading men of the time in the field of literary, social and poli-

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tical activities. His acquaintance with the old Marathi poets also dates from this time, and Vishnu Shastri always felt particularly grateful to a well known *Haridas* by name Panhalkar Boa whose '*Kirtans*' had become extremely popular and were in fact the fashion and the rage of a whole season in Poona. It only remains to be added that Vishnu Shastri had a singular liking for hearing tales and anecdotes belonging to the Peshwai period; and fortunately for him he came across one or two very old gentlemen, who were contemporaries of the actors in the drama of the last stage of the Mahratta rule in Poona and whose memories were simply crowded with reminiscences and stories that might conceivably set on fire the imagination and the fancy of an emotional hearer. With all these accomplishments budding or half-blown in him, Vishnu Shastri took leave of the portals of the College. Few could have predicted at this time that he was destined to make a mark on the rolls of fame higher than any of his contemporaries at college, though many of the latter had unquestionably acquitted themselves as superior students or given proofs of a brighter intellect. It was, however, given to one of his Professors, who strangely enough personally knew him the least, we mean Dr. Keilhorn, to be a witness to a casual prediction about Vishnu Shastri which, however, was destined to come out true. The story is told how a countryman of Dr. Keilhorn once accompanied the Professor to the Deccan College and on examining, from the point of view of

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a phrenologist, the heads of most of the boys therein declared his approval of only two, out of which Vishnu Shastri's was one.

From the life of a student to that of a teacher was an easy transition in those halcyon days. The year 1871, at the end of which he took his B. A. degree, Vishnu Shastri spent partly in reading for his examination and partly in doing duty as a teacher in a school, which was the most famous private school of his time in Poona and the proprietor of which, Baba Gokhale, was regarded as a man of brilliant intellect and high literary abilities, though unfortunately he left behind him nothing more tangible than a flickering memory. As soon as he took his degree, Vishnu Shastri openly declared his preference for a literary rather than a pedagogic career. Suitable work in this line was never wanting to him even while at college; and the first thing that came to his hands after he obtained his freedom from college studies was the completion and publication of the translation of the latter portion of Johnson's 'Rasellas' through the pages of the *Shalapatrak* which was in the charge of Krishna Shastri as editor, and to which Vishnu Shastri used to make small contributions even before. Now that he got a well established Marathi journal practically at his disposal, Vishnu Shastri began to feel enthusiasm for commencing his long-thought-of series of essays on the Sanskrit poets. The whole series consists of five monographs on five of the leading Sanskrit poets; and

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he therein did ample justice to his taste as a student of Sanskrit literature, though it must be admitted that some portions of them, which relate to pure criticism, do not perhaps disclose a critical faculty of the highest sort. The appointment of the well known Mr. M. M. Kunte as Head Master of the Poona High School gave Vishnu Shastri an opportunity for writing one of the only two articles which he is said to have ever written for the columns of an English newspaper. It appears that Mr. Kunte, whose literary exploits were often as erratic as they were perhaps brilliant, had made himself nearly ridiculous as much by his attempts in Marathi versification as by his attacks on the leading men of Poona at the time. Vishnu Shastri seems to have imbibed from the very beginning a prejudice against Mr. Kunte, which remained with him to the last; and almost the very first greeting which Mr. Kunte received from the rising literary star of Poona is framed in the following words of striking sarcasm embodied in an article published in the *Dnyan-Prakasha* in August 1872. After painting the background of expectancy in bright colours for the appearance of a wonderful hero on the scene, the article goes on :—"How could we if not by flourishes and trumpets announce so high a potentate ? It is the illustrious author of the great epic, Raja Shiwaji, that we have this time summoned before our tribunal. Dare any of our readers ask whom we mean ? It cannot be. It is impossible that any should at all stand in need of our help on this important point when

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the great poet himself, with a delicacy as singular as his genius, has well nigh stunned the ears of the whole presidency with his stentorian voice, all but too weakly echoed by his few Boswells. Mr. Kunte, to unmuffle at last the hero of our panegyric, who has already shone in various walks of literature, now comes forth with a fresh emanation from his effulgent mind. Avaunt ye worthless race of old pretenders! Be gone ye Wamans, Moropants and Mukteshwars, the all-honoured idols of ages of poetic sterility! Ye that palmed upon an undiscerning nation with a false translated light not your own! For shame, hide your diminished heads; for, a peerless luminary, with the vision and faculty divine, rises upon you! But this is the least arduous of our hero's herculean feats. Within half a dozen of years, nearly the time that took Milton to compose his Paradise Lost, of which by the bye the English nation need no longer be particularly proud, our matchless Kunte has shone conspicuous in the ranks of epic poets, statesmen, reformers, orators, philosophers and linguists, a career of splendour unparalleled in the annals of authorship. After these rapid transitions from eminence to eminence the author at last settles into philosophy, and now behold the intellectual prodigy in the last stage of greatness." After a critical examination of Mr. Kunte's poetry Vishnu Shastri thus remarks in his second article on the same subject:—"The charm of these enchanted portals being now dissolved, let us sally in. And what a wild prospect meets our view on every

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side? A vast chaos of misty thought unredeemed by even a single passage, which any mind except the author's may dwell upon! Mr. Kunte knew that the old Marathi poets had something about them that was not satisfactory. He, therefore, very wisely judged that a road diametrically opposite to theirs was necessarily the one and the only one to true poetic excellence. In his zeal to found a new school of Marathi poetry he has unhinged the whole system of the language and waged a frantic war against sense and style, grammar and idiom—a very Robespierre of Marathi poetry!"—The concluding remarks are equally interesting. He says, "And now we take a formal leave of our author. We found him soaring high with Milton and Plato, and hope to have left him, at least in the estimation of our readers, in the sphere of mediocrity?" We made these somewhat lengthy quotations only to show that though Vishnu Shastri very rarely wrote in English, still even when writing in a foreign language he could command a vigorous style. And considering that at the time of writing these articles he was a graduate just fresh from college, one might safely pronounce that had he chosen to be a journalist writing in English he would have probably made as high a mark as he actually did by his *'Nibandha-Mala.'* Another reason may perhaps be logically given for these quotations; and it is this that the personality of Mr. Kunte was largely responsible for hastening if not causing primarily the most striking event in Vishnu Shastri's life, namely

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the resignation of his post as an assistant master in a Government High School.

Two years after Vishnu Shastri's graduation, the post of the third assistant Master in the Poona High School fell vacant, and Mr. Chatfield, the then Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, who intimately knew Krishna Shastri and had a high regard for him, voluntarily offered to appoint his son to that post. Having no very engrossing pursuit on hand just at the moment and having also decided not to study law, Vishnu Shastri accepted the appointment, though rather with a desire to please his father than to permanently take up a career for life. The prospect of laying by a decent sum of money to be spent in the purchase of books and for the gratification of a literary taste also might have no small inducement to him; and Krishna Shastri independently desired his son to treat the receipts of his whole salary as his pocket-money. At the High School, Vishnu Shastri made a very good teacher but an indifferent subordinate. The faults of his love of a general reading were naturally magnified in a system of school routine in which the teacher has to submit to a kind of discipline no less than the student; and standards and time-tables formed an important item in the code of this discipline. Vishnu Shastri could find it in him to love his work only when it happened to fall in with his taste. But what with the exigencies necessarily resulting from the particular situation and the obstinate nature of Mr. Kunte, Vishnu Shastri's

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tastes and duties did not always agree; and the pin-pricks received from a superior, about whom Vishnu Shastri had a very poor opinion, served to accelerate a course of action, which he might have resorted to a little later if otherwise circumstanced, owing to his inherent dislike for Government service.

Towards the close of 1873 it happened that Vishnu Shastri went to Alandi for a picnic in the company of a few select friends. On the return journey Vishnu Shastri's essays on the Sanskrit poets formed a subject of conversation and one of the company vaguely suggested that Vishnu Shastri might as well start a monthly magazine. The remark served to crystallize the ideas which Vishnu Shastri himself had on the subject ; and the year 1874 witnessed the birth of what may be called his *magnum opus*. The new magazine did not take long to make an impression. It at once made a stir in public opinion. The articles or essays, owing to the vigorous style and the independent and altogether novel view of thought marked out in them, were at first regarded as too able to emanate from the pen of a young boy like Vishnu Shastri. The new writer, who had thus ventured to appear on the public horizon, at once became the one topic of conversation in Poona; and both the manner and the matter of the writing were such that it required a sort of an effort on the part of the public to come round to believe that the new writer was Vishnu Shastri himself and none else. The first crisis came before the

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magazine had been eight months old. Vishnu Shastri had now crossed the Rubicon, and his 8th number of the '*Nibandha-Mala*' came upon the public like a bomb-shell. It gave short shrift convention and indulged in plain speaking which nearly scandalized those who, being Europeans or Natives in Government service, could not conceive that views like these could be entertained much less expressed in public print by a Government servant. The Missionaries made a regular grievance of it; and Major Candy thought that he would be rendering a kind service to his respected friend Krishna Shastri by advising him to warn his son against a repetition of the indiscretion. Krishna Shastri himself perceived the glaring conflict between the duty of a Government servant and the spirit which obviously animated his son's writings. And even Mr. Chatfield, whose maxim, almost throughout his tenure of office as the head of the Educational Department, was to judge of a school master mainly by the performance of his school duties, thought it fit to go out of the way a bit to tell Vishnu Shastri that though his undertaking was a creditable one in itself, still he might profitably refrain from assertiveness and severity of language at that early age, especially as even the views of men like Mill and Macaulay were not universally accepted without demur. Vishnu Shastri silently made a note of these words of advice coming as they did from more or less approved quarters; but evidently not

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much impression was made on him by them. This went on for some time more till the mental friction between himself and the official readers of his magazine sufficiently developed a hiatus; and Vishnu Shastri was subjected to the first unmistakable manifestation of the official wrath and transferred to Ratnagiri without promotion. Another thing contributed to the development of the body of opinion that was being gathered against him. It was well-known that the '*Shala-patraka*' or the 'school paper,' which was first started in 1861 and was for a long time under the editorship of Krishna Shastri, was practically edited by his son; and naturally the kind of opinions that were expressed in the '*Nibandha-Mala*' often found vent in the pages of the '*Shala-patraka.*' Thus on one occasion the Educational Department, whose organ the '*Shala-patrak*' was, was directly criticised for stopping its patronage to the journal '*Sarvsangraha*' which was doing valuable service by way of publishing the works of old Marathi poets. Upon this Mr. Chatfield decided to withdrawing the '*Shala-patrak*' from Krishna Shastri's editorship. But such a course of action was likely to be candalised by the public, who had a high opinion of Krishna Shastri's literary ability; and therefore rather than incur odium in that manner Mr. Chatfield preferred altogether to stop its publication.

But the final crisis did not come till the 30th number of the '*Nibandha-Mala*' was out. The atmosphere, which was so long surcharged with unpleasantness, now took fire by the spark which was put to it by an

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Anglo-Indian, Major Jacob; and the explosion took place with the full accumulated effect. Major Jacob wrote a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* on 29th September 1876, over the *nom de plume* of *Eliphas*, in which translations of a few chosen extracts were given as samples of Vishnu Shastri's writings, and the occasion was taken by the correspondent for giving a discourse on the sins of the Native Press and the disloyalty of the educated Brahmans. The editor of the '*Nibandha-Mala*' was dragged from "the obscurity of Poona and introduced to the general public as one of the horde of the demi-semi educated Brahmans annually let loose on the country from the Government schools and colleges;" and Government were called upon to be awake to the fact that 'a Brahman is a born intriguer, though any true independence on his part was simply an impossibility." To this letter Vishnu Shastri replied in the columns of the '*Dnyan Prakash.*' He put down *Eliphas'* letter to the spleen or the evangelical agony of the Anglo-Indian correspondent and expressed a judicious doubt whether the latter's own countrymen could all with one accord cry amen to his declamations and sweeping denunciations. As regards the subject matter of the offending article in the '*Mala*' he explained that he had only stated certain misconceptions and strange prejudices with respect to Asiatic nations that hang on the European mind and unfortunately take not a little from the fidelity as well as the worth of the learned and curious labour of the European. Aware before-

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hand how easily such a subject (historical) would give room to gross misconstruction and misrepresentation at the hands of unscrupulous and unfair opponents, "I supported," he said, "most of my remarks with ample quotations from English historians such as Ockley, Buckle, Kaye and Martineau. The advisability of this precaution has been clearly shown by the event. *Eliphas*, amidst all his angry cavillings at the essay, has kept aloof from joining issue with me on any of the main points touched on in the essay." And bitterly resenting the charge of sedition which was levelled at himself and the whole class of educated Brahmans, Vishnu Shastri asked the following very pertinent questions:—"I have spoken of the imperfect knowledge which the Westerners have in general of the languages of the East. Is this sedition? If so, what shall we say of one who, standing as it were on the very top of Parnassus, looks down upon our university men as upon semi-demi-educated youths, wilfully forgetting that he numbers among this herd men whose knowledge of the Western languages is immeasurably superior to that of many a Western orientalist and who have been the esteemed pupils of such men as Sir Alexander Grant, William Wordsworth and the late Martin Haug. I have spoken of the Arabs and the Turks and recounted to my readers their wonderful conquests. Is this sedition? If so, the good blades that put the Roman cohorts to flight or the lying pages of those black traitors Ockley and Gibbon are to blame,

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and not the editor of a Marathi periodical. I have spoken of the magnificence of Asia and the comparative wretchedness of the West. Is this sedition? If so, old dame Nature is at fault, not I. I have spoken of the Bible and the Christians in no very reverend tone. Is this sedition? If so, I can point to the pages of many a great European thinker for confirmation and can plead as an excuse the example of many a reverend missionary." *Eliphas* was also taken to task in the columns of 'the *Times of India*' by college friends of Vishnu Shastri. Mr. Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani, M. A., and sometime Acting D. P. I. Berar, who came to Vishnu Shastri's rescue, referring pointedly to the subject matter in dispute, wrote as follows:— "The Editor of the '*Nibandha-Mala*,' while passing remarks on the qualification of writers of Asiatic history, pronounces a judgment which, however unpalatable to the Englishmen of the type of *Eliphas*, is but too true. Can anybody deny that Europeans have very little knowledge of the vernacular languages and of the manners and customs of the people? I wish *Eliphas* had gainsaid the facts contained in the 'four gems' which he had presented to H. E. the Governor in Council. Must I remind him that facts must be refuted by facts and that they can not be discredited by pooh-poohing them away as he has done?"

The matter did not end with the letter of *Eliphas*. Major Jacob, it is said, translated the whole of the 30th

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number of the '*Mala*' in English and sent it on to Government. But no tangible consequence resulted immediately. Later on during the Christmas vacation of the same year Vishnu Shastri was quietly transferred to Ratnagiri, Mr. Chatfield evidently supposing that the transfer would convey a wholesome lesson to his ill-advised subordinate. The event formed the subject of common talk among the Poona public and some of Vishnu Shastri's friends and sympathisers took the opportunity to bestow on him a well-meant piece of advice to the effect that it was after all no use incurring the displeasure of his superiors. Vishnu Shastri, however, did not choose to argue on the question at all. He had definite ideas of his own on the whole situation, and not wishing to add to the anxiety of his father he quietly proceeded to join his appointment at Ratnagiri. But the object of his filial solicitude was not destined to long survive this transfer. Krishna Shastri, who since his return from a pilgrimage to Benares and a tour to Dehli and Agra had been ill, was fast sinking under the effects of diabetes and paralysis. At last on the 19th of May he succumbed to the diseases at the 54th year of his age. In him Poona lost a literary jewel, a man who was as much liked for his good nature as he was respected for his learning. Besides being a universal favourite with men like Prof. Wordsworth and Mr. Chatfield, he was the general referee on every subject among his own people and a 'patent' president for every blessed public meeting or assembly in Poona.

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By his father's death the burden of family cares and responsibilities was shifted to Vishnu Shastri's head, and the many jarring elements in the family were not calculated to make for domestic peace. In a letter to his brother written about a couple of months after his father's death he referred to the situation in these words:-"I was so disgusted with those squabbles, especially on the last day of my residence in Poona that I would have been glad even to have placed the Arabian sea between me and such wretches." Another misfortune was added about the same time by the death of his sister's husband at a quite young age. And curiously enough the only and an infant son of Vishnu Shastri also died in October. Referring to these events Vishnu Shastri wrote to his brother as follows:—"We may now be said to have fully entered the storm-line of the voyage of life. Instead of being overdepressed, therefore, let us bear up and rally as soon as we can. Like sturdy sailors we should be prepared to encounter every species of adverse weather." But it was characteristic of the man that even while being tossed about in the latitudes within the storm-line, Vishnu Shastri was writing with an absolutely serene mind upon one of his favourite subjects, namely, the works of the great Marathi poet Moropant. His essay on the subject is perhaps the best among his writings from a literary point of view and also as containing samples of his criticism of some of the most well-known men of his time including Mr. M. G. Ranade and his own father Krishna Shastri.

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His father's death, however, served to eliminate the conflict between his natural inclinations and his filial duties and helped to put an end to the sort of double life he was leading, namely, that of a free-lance by nature bridled in the harness of Government service. And since the beginning of 1879, *i. e.*, within about 7 months from his father's death he seriously began to think of resigning service, though at Ratnagiri he had a better sort of Head Master and was receiving no direct provocation. He had, however, carefully made a secret of his thoughts on the subject and taken care not to allow any one excepting of course his wife to get a scent of what he was going to do. His plan was to resign his appointment when he would go to Poona for the summer vacation, but he had to put off its execution till September next. Though he spent the whole vacation at Poona among his friends and relatives, still he kept his intended resignation a profound secret. The Head Master, Mr. N. V. Sathe, was surprised at the resignation when it did come and kindly offered Vishnu Shastri the benefit of a *locus penitentiæ*. But he wrote back saying that his resolution to kick up service was deliberately formed from a long time. In a letter to one Mr. Gangal who, owing to his intimate and friendly relations with Vishnu Shastri, earnestly remonstrated with the latter for what he considered to be a thoughtless step, Vishnu Shastri took the opportunity to set forth the reasons of his action. This reply was never meant to be public, but it embodies thoughts which

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were characteristic of the man. And if Vishnu Shastri were required to state his reasons publicly he would have used nearly the same words. He says—"No wonder that my throwing up my place has called forth many a remark both here and there. In these days of helplessness and subserviency, Government service is looked upon in something of a heavenly light, and one deliberately giving it up must consequently be looked upon as little short of a madman or a suicide. But for my own part I always thought very differently of the matter. Rather than bend the knee to tyranny, I would snap asunder the chain once and forever. I have told you once and often, on what terms I stood while here, with Mr. Kunte; and I resolved to throw up my place when I received the order for Ratnagiri. But various circumstances compelled me then to leave my native place and home. But even then I cherished the hope that I would achieve my liberty, the moment a suitable opportunity occurred. It is then my supreme disgust of the drudgery of a Government school life that led me to resign my place. I am resolved to try what might be done for public good with the potent instrumentality of a press-establishment worked by a vigorous hand. You will have in course of time a fresh edition of the Arabian Nights carried on to the end, the essays on Marathi grammar in the '*Shala-patraka*,' essays on the remaining Sanskrit poets and several other works which I have long since contemplated. I have said, I believe, enough to assure you that it was

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in no momentary freak that I resolved to bear the chain no longer." About the same time he wrote to his brother:—"The memorable first of October is approaching. I shall enjoy the pleasure of kicking off my chains that day." This conclusively proves that not only was the step taken by him in resigning his post a deliberate and determined one, but that he also felt a genuine pleasure in the course, which he had proposed for himself.

During the leave preparatory to his retirement Vishnu Shastri had planned the establishment of a private High School in which instruction might be given to the younger generations at a less cost and with better methods than that available in Government institutions. The rumours of this plan had not long reached the public before half a dozen bright young men were affected by the blessed contagion of enthusiasm for the charming ideal of an independent educational career associated with the name of a famous literary man like Vishnu Shastri. Among these may be mentioned Messrs. B. G. Tilak and G. G. Agarkar. A private English School was at this time not quite a novelty, but a private English School conducted by men like these *was* a novelty decidedly. The few private schools which Poona had had till that time were more or less dependent upon the will of either selfish or erratic men, who had neither the aspiration of realising a high educational ideal nor the disinterestedness to make their institution an object of affection for the people. The advertisement of Vishnu Shastri's venture, therefore,

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created a great and pleasant excitement throughout the student-world of Poona, and some of the students who were determined to benefit by the New School left the Poona High School even a couple of months in anticipation. On the first of January 1880 the school was opened in the historical wada of Moroba Dada Fadanis with no less than 150 boys, and by May next the number increased to 500. Such good fortune has fallen to the lot of very few people either before or after in the history of private educational enterprize in India, and it was a proud day for Vishnu Shastri when, addressing his colleagues and pupils on the last day of the first term before separation for the summer vacation, he could thankfully acknowledge that with the favour of gracious Providence the cup of his good fortune had been already full even to overflowing. He fancifully described the growth of the School within four brief months by comparing it to the rapid growth of the prophet's gourd. It was undoubtedly a matter of satisfaction that amidst a hundred difficulties, amidst popular apathy, in utter disregard of desponding opinions, in direct defiance of official denunciation and the devices of disappointed malice, as Vishnu Shastri liked to put it, the new institution should triumph over all obstacles and should even cause no inconsiderable perturbation to the conductors of similar other institutions in Poona, Government or private. He described what he claimed to constitute the peculiar feature of the new institution in these words:—"It is that full measure of freedom

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which is accorded both to the teachers and the taught. A teacher in our institution has to fear no hourly rounds of the Head Master, no annual bugbear of the inspectorial visit; he has no official etiquette to observe, variable with the whims and caprices of every new head.....He is here something better than a living automaton ruled by the time-table on the one hand and the clock on the other; semething better than a wretched slave condemned for his allowance of bread to watch the looks of that superior intelligence whose word is law and whose olympian thunder he may never venture to tempt. To our pupils too we have proclaimed here a like latitude of conduct. While the terrors of the eternal ferrule have not been held in abeyance and every undue transgression is duly chastised, a boy may yet find here the rigors of the pedagogue rule considerably softened down.....The youngster may likewise find greater indulgence allowed to him in consideration of his youthful feelings—no juvenile exuberance of spirits being mistaken for deliberate impertinence and no forwardness of youthful ambition treated as saucy presumption and repressed as such." Even a month earlier, in presenting his annual report the acting Head Master of the Government High School, Mr. Vaman Abaji Modak, had to take cognisance of the New English School and to explain the fall in the number of the boys in the Government institution by speaking of its new and successful rival in ungenerous and unbecoming terms. He

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described the spirit which animated the New School as "the impetuosity of vagabonds" and predicted for it the fate of a mushroom. The language of Mr. Modak's criticism was universally condemned at the time, and the N. E. School is still having its revenge by leading a vigorous life. On the opening day of the school the staff consisted of such first rate men as Vishnu Shastri, Tilak and Namjoshi. But more were not long in coming. Mr. Agarkar, who in his College days highly admired the author of the '*Mala*' and had actually submitted to him four years ago an essay on a political subject, fulfilled his promise and joined the school soon after. And he was followed by the late Principal Vaman Shivaram Apte who was a Master of Arts and had had a distinguished University career throughout, and who by his refusal of a Government appointment had drawn on himself the wrath of Mr. Chatfield who declared, that so long as he was at the head of the Educational Department Mr. Apte would never get a post in Government service again. To the prestige and ability of Vishnu Shastri and Tilak, Mr. Apte joined business methods and organisation. Under the superintendentship of the latter the New English School at once began to leave nothing to be desired in point of efficiency or administration. In a letter to his brother dated 13th September 1879 Vishnu Shastri had used these words:-"Mr. Agarkar, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Bhâgawat and Mr. Karandikar have tendered proposals for joining me in the enterprise. This they have done of their own accord. We have settled the first

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January for the hoisting of the standard. Such a battery must carry the High School instantaneously before it." The events showed that he was a true prophet. The results of the very first year's batch of students sent for the Matriculation examination were highly creditable. Out of 16 sent 12 passed; the School carried the first Jagannath Shankar Shet Scholarship, and was permanently assured. It is said that in the month of August 1881 the late Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang paid a visit to the School, and he was highly impressed with the originality of the plan and the most efficient administration of the institution, so much so that he is reported to have expressed almost an irresistible desire to give up his practice at the Bombay Bar and at once join the N. E. School. Providence, however, ruled otherwise and Mr. Telang could not carry out his laudable object.

It now remains to speak of the several other institutions which Vishnu Shastri started in pursuance of his original intention of doing real public service. In the month of May 1877 Vishnu Shastri happened to meet in Poona two young members of the subordinate educational service, Mr. K. N. Sane and Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak, both of whom had literary tastes and were also actuated by a desire to do some public service in their favourite line. The collection of historical manuscripts and Bakhars was a favourite pursuit of Mr. Sane, and Mr. Modak's leanings lay in the direction of Marathi poetry, Astronomy and literary

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research. The three young men decided to start a magazine in which historical Bakhars and ballads and the works of Marathi and Sanskrit poets hitherto unpublished might appear. Accordingly, the well-known journal '*The Kavyetihas-Sangraha*' was started in January 1880. The journal had comparatively not a long lease of life; but even during its short career it served to bring out some very valuable historical manuscripts and selections from Sanskrit and Marathi poets. In the same year in August Vishnu Shastri came across an amateur artist in Poona whose hobby it was to make a collection of interesting paintings, pictures, sketches and maps. The gentleman, Mr. Balkrishna Wasudev Joshi, was a draughtsman in the Government Photo-Zinco Office; and the taste as well as the industry displayed by him in making his museum highly impressed Vishnu Shastri, who immediately hit upon a scheme for putting up a lithographic press for bringing out historical and other pictures of purely Indian interest. The start was made by experimenting with the portraits of two historical personages. *viz.*, PeshwaMadhavrao and Nana Fadanawis, whose portraits, painted about a hundred years ago from life by a European artist at the instance of Mr. Malet of the British Political Agency in the time of Sawai Madhavrao were preserved at Menavli in the private wada of Nana Fadanawis himself, and which were regarded as the only genuine portraits of the time of the Peshwas that were handed down to the later

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generations. The success of the experiment inspired confidence in Vishnu Shastri's mind about the proposed undertaking; and in a short time the well-known *Chitra-Shala* was established as a full-fledged artistic press establishment. The two historical pictures were followed by a reproduction of the well-known *Rampanchaytana*, a celebrated work of the untutored artistic genius of the time, *viz.*, Bhiwa Sutar. The new picture was sold by thousands and the success of the *Chitra-Shala* as a financial concern was at once assured and the institution continues to this day under the able guidance of the enterprising manager, Mr. Vasudev Ganesh Joshi. These undertakings afforded a partial occupation for Vishnu Shastri in his leisure immediately after retirement; and to these were now added, besides the New English School, the Arya Bhooshana Press and the newspapers the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, which were started mainly as the organ of the band of public workers, who had rallied to the trust under the leadership of Vishnu Shastri. Messrs Apte and Agarkar were the leading enthusiasts in the matter of the press and the papers; and Vishnu Shastri willingly transferred to the proprietors of the New English School he good-will as well as the material of the 'Kiran' press which he had already purchased for 2,500 rupees from a private merchant in the beginning of the year. The prospectus of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* was signed by a large number of influential men, and the *Kesari* began its career with

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making a record both in the matter of cheapness and popularity by starting with a list of subscribers numbering to about two thousand. Vishnu Shastri was connected with the press and the papers to his death; but it must be stated that he did not take such a prominent part in the work of the editorship as some of the others did. Though now long out of college Vishnu Shastri had maintained his inexplicable aversion for the press news and the article-writing. The papers were soon involved in a weighty criminal prosecution for libel by the late Madhavrao Barve, the Dewan of Kolhapur, while Vishnu Shastri was one of the editorial staff; still he had never taken any active part in the investigations into or the writings on the subject of the famous Kolhapur case. Vishnu Shastri's articles in the *Kesari* were written on literary and other topics of rather a non-political character. Ephemeral writing was apparently not in his line, and his ideas of journalism were moulded after the *London Spectator* or the *Saturday Review* model. He had by this time winded up the *'Nibandha-Mala'*, and it appears that his mind was bent upon the work of writing useful books of a permanent interest. But before any tangible progress with the new work could be made, the life career of Vishnu Shastri was cut short by his premature death for which no explanation can plausibly be given except that contained in the pithy saying that 'Whom the Gods love die young.' On the 15th of January, 1882, Vishnu Shastri, while standing for having, at the request of

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some friends, his photograph taken in an art-studio in the camp, suddenly fainted; and though no serious consequences followed immediately still the accident proved the beginning of an illness which lasted for a couple of months and resulted in his death on the 17th of March 1882. Big crowds of his friends and admirers, including men like Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre, were gathered at the funeral; and the mournful pile that was lighted up amidst the grateful praises and the heart-felt lamentations of thousands, ended the life story, at the young age of 32, of a man who had laid such foundations of his memory as must last till the Marathi language would be spoken or would have a history. The opinions or pursuits of Vishnu Shastri were not such as would ordinarily appeal to the Anglo-Indian or to the English press. But in the life sketch, embellished with a photo of the great Marathi writer, which appeared in the London *Graphic* of the 16th of May of that year, the writer fair-mindedly spoke of Vishnu Shastri as follows:—'This worthy Indian citizen, who died on 15th of March last at the early age of 32 displayed an enterprise and energy in the pursuit of benevolent aims which is nowhere too common and is especially valuable in India where the people are rather wont to lean upon the Government for any improvement.....He did not live to reap the fruits of his labours, but he nevertheless deserves a hearty recognition as *one of those pioneers of progress who, if they become numerous enough, will some day make India a self-governing community.*"

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Vishnu Shastri left no children behind him, his only son having died an infant; but his life work and his thoughts have forged links of sympathetic communion which will eternally connect his memory with the coming generations.

Vishnu Shastri is perhaps one of those personalities about whom it is difficult to have any thing like a perfect unanimity of opinion on all hands. And the reasons for this are to be found not so much in the elements that contributed to form his mental equation or character as in the manner as well as the matter of what he wrote for the public. A hot controversy had raged over his merits and his value while he was yet alive and working; and even now that he is gone these nearly twenty-five years, contemporary critics have not been able to divest their minds of prejudices and prepossessions so as to judge of him impartially. His critics have too frequently allowed either their literary tastes or their political opinions to interfere with the play of a dry light upon him. To attempt to be fair to him without being unfair to Truth need not, however, be regarded as impossible. First then, we will deal with him as a writer. It may be safely said that Vishnu Shastri was to the Marathi language what Milton and Macaulay were to the English language. Like the former he was the first great prose writer, and like the latter he was the most vigorous and popular critic and essay-writer in Marathi. All resemblance, however, between him and Milton ceases as soon as we have compared their services to their

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languages as pioneer prose-writers. Such is not the case with the other comparison; for, curiously enough Vishnu Shastri has innumerable and enduring points of resemblance with Macaulay. One can see at once that Macaulay must have been the favourite author of Vishnu Shastri, and all the merits and even all the demerits of the former's style are to be met with in the latter's writings. Among Vishnu Shastri's merits as a writer may be mentioned a good choice of classical and dignified words, and phrases and quotations, wealth of reference and allusion, genius for narration, subtlety of reasoning, charm of illustration, vigour of expression, and the presentment of fresh points of view. Irony and sarcasm were conspicuous among the figures of speech that abounded in his style, and with a soul steeped deep in the historical, poetic; and classical literature, when Vishnu Shastri wrote his best he produced a piece of composition which was sonorous and rhythmatic, altogether pleasing and at the same time elevating to the sense and the spirit. On the other hand, his writings lack precision and balance, both of which are always the out-come of an exclusively meditative and philosophical mind. There was, however, sometimes an unmistakable bid for the glitter and pomp of style, and to a certain extent one could say of Vishnu Shastri's style what John Morley has said of Macaulay's. His periods were sometimes more dashing than becoming, his accentuation at times too jarring, the emphasis too stamping and the phrases too

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barbed. There was at times an exaggertion of expression and an 'unlovely staccato in voice.' "The wine of truth is in his cup a brandied draught a hundred degrees above proof and he too often replenishes the lamp of knowledge with naphtha in stead of fine oil. He seeks truth, not as she should be sought, devoutly, tentatively and with the air of one touching the helm of a sacred garment but clutching her by the hair of the head and dragging her after him in a kind of boisterous triumph, a prisoner of war and not a goddess." We must remember, however, that Vishnu Shastri never professed to write as a philosopher, and had also far more justification than Macaulay for writing a style that might err not on the side of insipidity but on the side of vigour. For while Macaulay came on the tide of national glory and prosperity, Vishnu Shastri saw nothing but misery and gloom all around him in the nation. He was inspired with a mission to arouse his countrymen to self-confidence and to an appreciation of the best elements and the potentialities of their race.

And it is undoubtedly his harshness of language that is the real cause of the most of the prejudice in so many quarters against Vishnu Shastri. There were few prominent men of his time who escaped unscathed from his pen. We have already noticed his severe handling of the late Mr. Kunte; and among the others that have been criticised by him, though less severely, are the late Mr. Justice Ranade, the late Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, and the late Dayanand Saraswati. But the

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impartiality of his mind in this connection can be proved by the fact that in his essay on Moropant, Vishnu Shastri has not spared even his own father in the latter's capacity of a critic of the poet. Now in extenuation, if not entire justification, of the harshness of Vishnu Shastri's language, it may be said that generally a writer who feels strongly will necessarily write strongly, and the writer of the *Nibandha-Mala* was a man of exceptionally strong feelings. Disgust is the only word with which one can describe his feeling about the spirit of drift and indifferentism, and what was worse, a spirit of blind admiration for everything foreign, that characterised the men of his generation. There were also other things. The Christian Missionary, who had successfully nestled into the mind of the educated people by an attractive exhibition of some of the best features of the Western civilisation such as the love of learning, the spirit of educational enterprise and the methods of democratic usefulness, had become in the early days of English education almost an oracle. And using his position of influence to the fullest advantage he had made devastating inroads upon the field of even the best among the Hindu traditions. Vishnu Shastri was by no means the first in his age to perceive the impending calamity; for, as we have already noticed, his own father and the first Pundit of his time, Krishna Shastri, had not only been alive to the new danger but had made active efforts to avert it by starting, with the co-operation of several other writers, a magazine spe-

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cially directed against the harmful side of the Missionary teaching. It is natural that in the first decade of the twentieth century, when the over-whelming tide of the Missionary has been so successfully beaten back that hardly a vestige of his domination now remains, we should not be able to thoroughly appreciate or realise the evils of the situation. But even today we have amidst us enough of the evil to judge by sample the vast proportions which it had assumed forty years ago. Krishna Shastri and his colleagues, however, did not make a permanent impression by their anti-missionary crusade; for, their early enthusiasm was soon damped by what might be regarded as the showers of official favour. They also lacked the emotional fervour which Vishnu Shastri possessed. It was, therefore, reserved for him to deal a death blow to the missionary influence on the mind of his generation, and a task like that can scarcely be accomplished by a milk-and-water criticism. Vishnu Shastri was a pioneer of new ideas and ideals moulded in a genuinely *Swadeshi* mould; and the prejudice against him has been only proportional to the shock which his writings gave to the vested interests, intellectual and otherwise, of his age. The battle for the cause of patriotism is always own without fear of reaction by a flank movement. A real patriot should always make it a rule to speak as little of 'patriotism' as possible. He should be the last to utter the word patriotism, secure in the belief that his own *action* and the *action* of persons like himself will do

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the needful. But this rule applies only to an advanced state of patriotic feeling in the country, when the nation has acquired the warmth and glow by action in actual fight. It is otherwise when the initial spade work has to be done and patriotism itself is to be directly preached as a specific stimulant against national torpor. In Vishnu Shastri's opinion, the country was being ruined by placid and misguided meditation over the brilliant features of the foreign civilisation and by its drifting away from the moorings which alone might save it from being involved in the rapids of disintegration. *He wanted the nation to know itself and its past glories so that it may have not insolence or self-sufficiency but only confidence in its own strength and capacity to adapt itself wisely and well to the new surroundings without losing its individuality.* And for this he saw no remedy so patent as to use the honest language of the heart, not caring whether it was sufficiently mild or adulterated with the balmy ommon places of qualification.

Vishnu Shastri may have been a bigot, but he was an enlightened bigot. It is a mistake to suppose that his mind was one chaotic mass of prejudice and irreverence. On the contrary we find that it was highly susceptible to greatness and worth, and his writings contain abundant proofs that though he might seem to be an iconoclast yet he was not incapable of worship. His criticism of men like Mr. Ranade was not exclusive of his admiration for them when taken all in all. To give only one instance, we may point out that in a letter, dated 5th

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April 1879, he writes to a friend as follows:—"Indeed in my estimation a Rao Bahadur knocked down successfully is an infinitely more creditable game than all Dayanandas and Jotibas put together. If my tone is more respectful towards the Rao Bahadur (M. G. Ranade) than towards the great (!) author of गुलामगिरी (one Jotiba Fule) that is due to the unspeakable difference between the *first man of the age* and the sorriest scribbler with just the clothing of humanity on him." Then, again, it is generally supposed that Vishnu Shastri was hopelessly prejudiced against everything English. Nothing could be farther from truth than this. His *Nibandha-Mala* full of generous acknowledgments of all that is best in the Western civilisation and particularly the English literature. An appreciative student of English poetry, classics and history could not do otherwise. His criticism was directed only against those superficial English students of Indian literature, and those false and perverse-minded English interpreters of Indian history and Indian life, who abounded in the early days of the contact between India and England. In the introduction to his कविपंचक (an essay on the five great poets in the Sanskrit language), he has openly admitted that it would be impossible to repay the obligations on the entire *Bharatvarsha* of those among the inquisitive, appreciative, generous-minded English admirers of learning and literature who helped not only to conserve the interest in research in the Sanskirt language, but actually glorified the name of the Hindus as the possessors of a splendid literature throughout the

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West. It was, he says, 'these men who really taught the Hindus to care for and study their own Sanskrit literature; it was they who taught us to recognise the jewels, that we were wearing on our body, as jewels, and to value them as such.' He has also acknowledged the superiority of some of the English poets in respect of poetic description over Indian poets, and has deplored the want of a historic sense generally among the class of Sanskrit writers (*vide* कविपंचक, p. 133).

If Vishnu Shastri's writings went beyond the avoidance of false moderation of language, his faults were to a great extent accounted for by his own high purpose and his surroundings. Even his own critics admitted that beyond the harshness of his language not much fault was to be found with his teachings. On the other hand, his services to the cause of the Marathi literature are priceless. His *Nibandha-Mala* is a library in itself. It is a rich treasure of the productions of a literary artist of the first water. His essays have as much literary flavour and finish as historical and political wisdom. A dignified humourist and a cautious wit, he has embellished his writings with many a *bon mot*, that is oft quoted but does not lose in repetition. Next to the *Mala* may be ranked his critical essays on the Sanskrit poets. These were written when he was just fresh from the college, and though his criticism is sometimes at fault and his research not sufficiently exhaustive, still he shows in these essays his excellent poetic taste and his delight in the sweet and sonorous measures of the Sanskrit masters

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of poesy. His writings on Marathi grammar next claim our attention, and of these it may be said with justice that they evince a critical study of the subject. It appears from one of his miscellaneous writings that he had formed a regular scheme for writing essays on also the Marathi poets, whom he held in very high esteem. But unfortunately the scheme was not carried out, though judging by his essay on Moropant in the *Nibandha-Mala*, we have very good reason to suppose that the performance would have been a very creditable one.

So much for his writings. But Vishnu Shastri's personality remains to the younger generations as much a source of inspiration as his writings. It is said that "the influence of an author becomes in time something apart from his books; a certain generalised or abstract personality impresses itself on our minds long after we have forgotten the details of his opinions, the argument by which he enforced them and, even what are usually last to escape us, the images by which he illustrated them. Phrases and sentences are a mask, but we detect the features of the man behind the mask." Now, as for Vishnu Shastri, this 'man behind the mask' would have been discovered to be a silently meditative, self-contained, firm, and determined individual, who always kept around him an atmosphere of literary culture and who was absorbed in the unconscious setting up of a new idea, for those among the generations to follow, who might be anxious to do some public good, some national service. His deliberate and courageous kicking up of the

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shackles of Government service, his foundation of an independent school of national education, with its organs the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, his journal, the *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, devoted to history and poetry, his lithographic press and his series of historical pictures, and the *Kitabkhana* or booksellers' and publishers' shop, all these were the first of their kind and the harbingers of a new life that was to dawn in the Deccan. These undertakings shine brilliantly on the background of self-sacrifice and have deservedly earned for Vishnu Shastri the name and the honour of the father of the new generation in the Deccan. It is a profitless speculation what Vishnu Shastri would have done, were he alive to-day. But what he actually did in the brief span of 32 years of life that were given to him, is enough to procure for him a full release from the obligation under which every true son of his motherland remains while life is in him. For himself, Vishnu Shastri sought no other 'blessedness' but that of work, and of that he found an abundance in the divine gift of an enthusiastic and patriotic spirit.

N. C. KELKAR.

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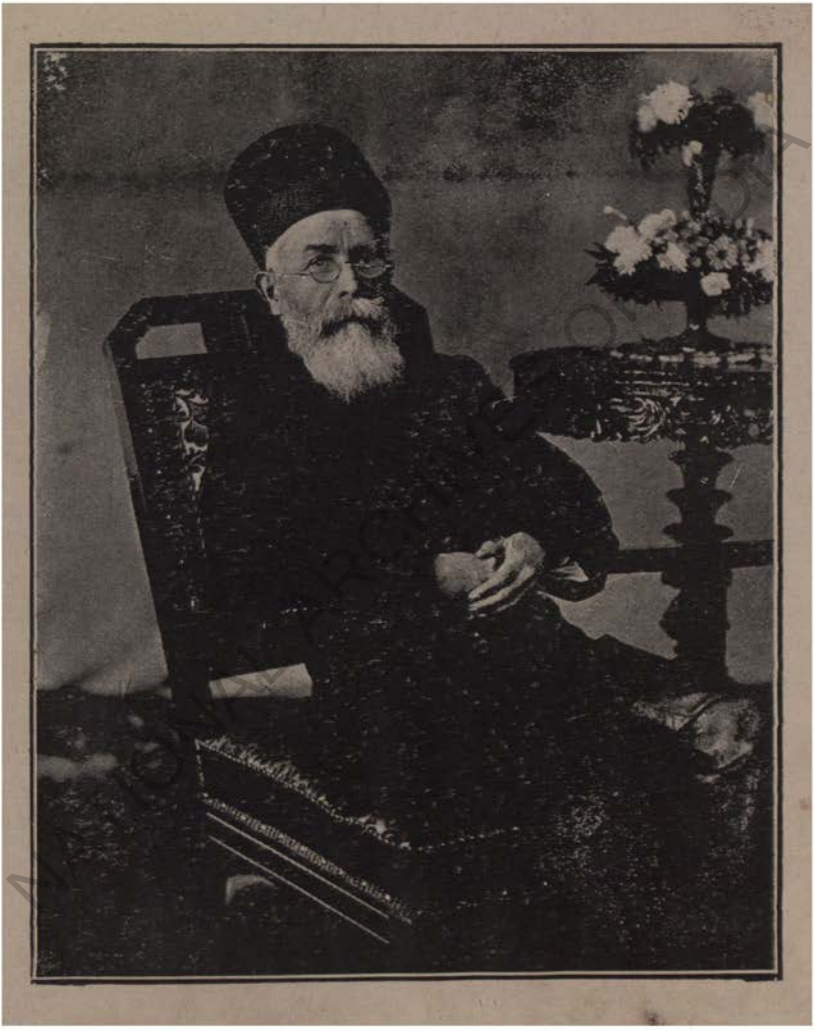

DADABHAI NOWROJEE.

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DADABHAI NOWROJEE.

"What is man born for but to be a *Reformer*—a *Remaker* of what man has made—a renouncer of lies, a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every moment repairs herself, fielding us every morning a new day and with every pulsation a new life."

EMERSON.

The life and mission of Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee cannot be better summed up than in the words of the poet Milton:—

"I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate one jot
Of heart or hope, but I still bear up and steer
Right onwards."

Before commencing with the character-sketch of Mr. Dadabhai, I cannot do better than let Mr. Dadabhai tell in his own words a chapter of his life's story contributed by him to Mr. T. P. O'Connor's well known journal "M. A. P."

"One of the first fancies which took possession of my mind as a little child—a fancy which has remained in my memory—was that, as my father was dead, the moon, like other friends, was in sympathy with me. And whether I went to the front or the back of the house the moon always seemed to go with me. I liked sympathy then and I like it now.

Another incident of my childhood I give upon my mother's authority, and not from personal recollection

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According to my mother, whenever any boy used bad language to me, I used to reply: "Your bad words will remain in your mouth."

As a boy I took a great interest in, and was considered pretty smart at Indian cricket. In the pursuit of that active and absorbing game we boys did not in the least seem to mind the hot sun, and during the half hour for lunch at mid-day we used to play regularly on the Esplanade.

Being quick at the multiplication table and at mental arithmetic, and being also little of size and fair of colour, I was a regular "exhibition boy" at my indigenous or native school. On special occasions all the boys of the school used to be lined up in the open by the side of the road, and there, surrounded by crowds of people, I along with other little boys was smartly exercised in mental gymnastics amid the loud "*wa-was*" (bravos) of the admiring audience.

Owing to the fairness of my complexion, and I think I may say the prettiness of my little limbs, I was also always an object of show at weddings, processions, etc., generally appearing as an English general or admiral, or in some gorgeous Indian Royal or Court dress of brocade. Fond parents and friends of the child thus exhibited used to say of him: "Oh, he is my dear '*Jonglo*' (Englishman)." Little did I dream then that I should spend much of my manhood and older life in the country of the "*Jonglas*" and don their dress in reality. I was particularly reminded of these days of

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processions and my childish joy in the different dresses I wore, especially the English Court dress, when, in Court dress, I formed one of the deputation from the Committee of the Imperial Institute, who received the late Queen Victoria on the occasion of the opening of that building. I well remember how the thought passed through my mind. "Here I am a real courtier now."

One of the delights of my boyhood was to read the "*Shah name*" (the Persian epic) in Gujarati to Parsi audiences. I need hardly say that these readings had much to do with the formation of my character.

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How things, little in themselves, lead to important results! In the early twenties of the last century there was formed at Bombay a society called "Native Education Society," which established a school in two branches, English and Vernacular. The "*Metaji*" (master) of my indigenous school did not know very much about the experiment of the "Native Education Society." But it was enough for him that it was conducted under Government auspices, so he sent his son to the school and persuaded my mother to send me also, and this was the foundation of my whole life's career. The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the educa-

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tion it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

The awakening of the soul came to me when I was about fifteen. I remember as if it were only yesterday how at a certain spot on a certain road I made a vow never to use low language. From that time forward as my education advanced, other resolutions to do this and not to do that followed, and I think I may say that I faithfully adhered to them.

As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house, and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink-shop never saw my face again.

When I entered the school, there were two European masters, one for the literary, the other for the arithmetical department. Some difference of opinion having arisen between them, they divided the school into two parts, each taking the whole education of his own division. One of the two was a strict disciplinarian, the other anything but that. My lot fell with the latter. Practically, we were allowed to do as we liked but I was not disposed to be idle. I must be active in some way or other. There was no enforcement of lessons, so I looked about for an occupation. I had a retentive memory, could repeat any story I heard both in spirit and in letter, and I was full of stories. So most of my school hours were passed in "spinning yarns" to an admiring

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circle of school-fellows. So lax was discipline, that often we would coolly march out of school and spend the whole day in games. In this way something like a year of regular study was lost to me. Yet I cannot say that even that truant year did not do me some good. My story-telling powers and skill at games made me a leader among the boys, and I acquired the self-confidence and reliance which comes with such a position.

I remember at one of the school-examinations, a fellow-pupil, having learned the "ready-reckoner" by heart, carried off the prize I had expected. But at the distribution of prizes, when questions outside the book were asked, he faltered and broke down. I seized the opportunity, rushed out of the ranks, and answered. There and then an English gentleman among the company gave me a prize, and Mrs. Poston the lady traveller, who was also present, has made a special note of the incident in her book, "Western India." Here I may say good-bye to the events of my boyhood.

After passing through the vernacular and English Schools I entered the Elphinstone College. Again the stars were favourable. As in the schools, there were no fees. On the contrary, admittance to the college was to be obtained only by scholarships, one of which I was fortunate enough to gain.

Among the books I read about this period that formed the various aspects of my character and influenced my subsequent life was, besides *Firdose's 'Shahname,'* a Gujarati book, "The Duties of Zoroastrians."

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Pure thought, pure word, pure deed was the lesson. But the literature I had most to do with, and most enjoyed, was of course, English. Watt's "Improvement of the Mind" settled my style and mode of thought—never two words when one was enough, clearness of thought and diction. So I bade farewell to the fine and flowery.

As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school-books came from a well-to-do class-mate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape, there came in my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the Life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted.

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When I was just at the top of the college, Sir Erskine Perry, then the President of the Board of Education, having formed a kind and favourable opinion of me proposed to send me to England to study law with a view to being called to the Bar. Sir Erskine, himself, offered to defray half the expenses if the elders of my community would provide the other half. Through some misun-

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derstanding—I fancy the elders were afraid lest the missionaries in England might convert me to Christianity! —the proposal was not carried through. Years later, in the course of a conversation I had with Sir Erskine at the India Office, when he had become a Member of the Council, he said that it was as well his proposal had not been accepted, as he was sure that my life, as it was, had made more for public usefulness than if I had become a lawyer.

It was now time for me to think seriously of a profession. I came very near to entering the Government service. The Secretary of the Board of Education at Bombay took an interest in me, and obtained an appointment in the Secretariat for me. This I regarded as a great stroke of luck, but fortunately some circumstances prevented me from accepting it. In reality it was the best thing that could have happened. Otherwise I should have been bound down to the narrow outlook of a subordinate Government official servant.

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The six or seven years before I eventually came to England in 1855, as one of three who came here to establish the very first Indian firm of business in the City of London under the style of "Cama and Co.," were full of all sorts of reforms, social, educational, political, religious, etc. Ah, those years!

Female education, free association of women with men at public, social, and other gatherings, infant

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schools, Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Societyies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the vernacular, Parsi reform, abolition of child marriages, re-marriage of widows among Hindus, and Parsi Religious Reform Society, were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot, and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from college, helped-in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Professor Patton and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

Yes, I can look back upon this part of my life with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed that I owed to the people. Yes, these "days of my youth" are dear to me, and an unfailing source of happiness.

* * * * *

The greatest event of my early career was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at my old, old alma mater, Elphinstone College. I was the first Professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor.

To me it is the dearest title and honour above all honours. It is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me "Dadabhai Professor" to this day.

* * * * *

The seeds sown in the days of my youth have brought me abundant harvest in the love and esteem

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of my fellow-countrymen. Is it vanity that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the "Grand Old Man of Indla ?"

No; that title, which speaks volumes for the warm, grateful, and generous hearts of my countrymen, is to me, whether I deserve it or not, the highest reward of my life. A friend once asked me whether I would care to live my life over again; my reply was: "Yes, I would, with all its disappointments and trials."

* * * * *

I suppose I must stop here. But there is one, who if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all—my mother. Widowed when I, her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in the world.

She worked for her child, helped by a brother.

Although illiterate, and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me and saved me from the evil influences of my surroundings.

She was the wise councillor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against the prejudices of the day. She made me what I am."

The news-papers announce that Dadabhai Nowrojee was requested formally to be President of the coming Indian National Congress, and that he has been good enough to accept the offer. So he will be here to guide the deliberations of this assembly for *the third time.*

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Why is it that of all men, this old man is again, the third time as we know, troubled with the burden of a Presidentship of the Congress? With all the three hundred millions of India, is there a dearth of wise heads, statesman-like leaders, that the Presidentship of the Congress should go a-begging again and again to an old man well-nigh bowed down with the anxieties of a whole nation? No, nothing of the kind. On the other hand, there has come such an energy into the heart of this usually dull plodding nation, and that energy has begun to manifest itself through such apparitions on the political arena, that the old orthodox leaders found it necessary to invoke the presence of the old man, although it was for the third time. It is a very serious situation that has forced the old Congress leaders to invite Dadabhai, and Dadabhai only, and *save the Congress*, as it is said! Has a new enemy appeared against this much maligned, much opposed body? We all know who the old enemies of the Congress are; then who are the new enemies for whom Dadabhai is summoned from his seclusion across the seas to save the Congress? The old leaders answer, and they are heartily joined by a new-born bevy of friends, our Anglo-Indian editors (it is only stale to be surprised now):—the extraordinary energy imparted to the nation by an extraordinarily audacious "friend of India" like Lord Curzon has called into being such sentiments, opinions, ideals, forces, and *men*, and it has so disturbed the "sea" of our politics,

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that there is a great fear of the well-guarded, and up to now well-manned national bark being wholly wrecked and lost for ever. And they further answer that there is one man, and he is still a power, who will allay the storm, and whose very name will, like magic, silence the weird apparitions that are menacing the path of the Congress with ruin and dissolution; that man is Dadabhai. So they went straightway to the old man, appealed to him, and found him, as is his wont, ready to cheer them up.

As a matter of fact, all of us find now that all pretentious claims, all clamour, and all noise too have been hushed. The new forces, the apparitions as some would be pleased to call them, the new *friend-enemies* as many others would cheerfully call them, *have* quietly surrendered to the magic of the old man's name. Mr. Pal, who would remain in India inspite of, and quite contemptuous to the "tiger qualities of an Imperial race," has ceased to repeat his war-cry of Tilak for the Congress! Mr. Khaparde's "circulars" await a patient trial at the coming sessions of the Congress where Dadabhai will preside. The crisis is passed or avoided as if by magic. So much *is* in a name because so much there is in the man. What is that so much? What has Dadabhai done to acquire such magic power in India? What is the secret of the influence which makes a whole nation suspend its agitation and look up with patient hope, and reverent silence? The sacrifice of a whole life in the nation's service—that is Dadabhai's power.

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The creation of a world of ideas which are the truisms of to-day, the awakening of a dead and dreaming people to a sense of its perilous position, the making of institutions that will conserve and realise the aspirations of an awakening continent of creeds and races, the life-long pleading in a foreign country for the redemption of a fallen country, these are the works of Dadabhai. They explain the magic of his name. Let me elucidate these propositions in detail, and establish them with facts and events which make up his life. Further, it will be found that no history of the *British Indian people*, if a Green should sit down to write it, would be complete and no student of such a history will have mastered it, unless Dadabhai and his life work are treated as one of the leading factors.

Dadabhai is the Cadmus of our public activities. He discovered for us the America of our public life—our very politics. Today we talk so easily of social reform, of national unity, of an Indian nation, of a Colonial Government, of rights of Indians to participate in the administration of the country, of local self-Government, of India's poverty, of the notorious foreign drain, of bloated military expenditure, of a vigilant press, of a National Congress, of wide-spread education, of delegates in England, of female education, of libraries, free schools and what not. We have become so familiar with these, our non-official members speak so frequently of these, our press writes so readily on these, that one would run the risk of being called an anti-

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quated dabbler or an idle book-worm, if one sought to peep into the origin and history of this crop of familiar expressions, this roll of monotonous resolutions and much orated-on grievances or reforms. However, the real student of politics will benefit largely if he travels back into time for their beginnings. The first thing which will strike him is the fact that almost every one of these began *from* Dadabhai. Let him go back to the fifties and the sixties, when the oldest college was not yet a dozen years old, when this big Bombay was most cordially satisfied with the catering of a newspaper or two, when female education was an out-landish horror even to the mothers of the present Parsee "sweet girl-graduates in their golden hair," when a library was a much-coveted rarity and a mother of ideal hopes and aspirations, when the most learned never could believe India was poor or there was a huge hole in her bottom. How cheerful one feels to be back in those days—because to be only a matriculate was to be somebody, to be a pleader was to be so much, to be a great officer was so easy, to be a petted well-cared for pupil of a dear English Professor was the rarest honor one would wish for, when an Englishman *was* a superior being, when grandpas and grandmas used to tell long stories of the terrible Mahratta horsemen, and of the beloved, good, peaceful, joyous British Sirkar, and the happy days that it had brought, so that you may trudge it from Kashi or Benares to Rameshwaram with a gold handled stick quite safely! Such were the days when

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Dadabhai found himself growing into a youth. A happy calm rested over the country. They were the Golden Days of British Rule certainly. The land itself was dreaming but came the slow stirring, the unperceived awakening through this youth, and he grew, and grew, and with him grew the awakening; the dull nation is being stirred, has been fully awakened; and now he stands, the nation at his back treading the "tracks he laid down" as Ranade said, he, a ripe old warrior, the nation, a fully warmed up wide-awake *persona* with eyes far ahead into the future.

The above is not penned in mere Boswellian fervour. If you want to understand really what Dadabhai has done, you read Ranade's brief speech when he unveiled Dadabhai's portrait in the Framjee Cawasjee Hall on the 24th of November 1900. What this great man said of him will convince you of the fact that I am but speaking the bare truth, and only doing bare justice to him. "Mr. Dadabhai was the first man to accomplish most of those things which they were then dreaming of being able to accomplish" said Ranade. Thus, Dadabhai, his greatness, his mission, and his place among the millions of the country was recognised from the first. Says Ranade, "Mr. Dadabhai in his younger days was described by one of those who knew him best as the *Promise of India*. Another impressed the opinion that there could be but one such man in a million; while a third thought there could be but one such man in three hundred millions." When most of the people at the age think

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only of wealth, fame and happiness, when all these are quite within easy reach, when youth, which as all know, feels nothing so sweet as its own glare, Dadabhai thought and worked for his less blessed fellow-countrymen, and his poor old country. He was the first great product of the British educational system. He was the first Indian appointed in the place of a European Professor in the Premier College of the Bombay Presidency. This was in the year 1854. Dadabhai did not allow himself to be obscured and buried by this comfortable position given to him. Not only, that, but he gave it up altogether. Why, he was burning to do something for his fellow-mortals, for his country. He was blessed to receive all the sweet fruits of Western culture. But then that was not all to him. He longed to see his country-men and his country-women equally blessed; and while he was doing the duties of a Professor, he was working at the several schemes of social and educational reform. Remember that he was only 29 years old at this time, being born in Bombay on 4th September 1825. He was no doubt backed by a few young enthusiatic patriots like himself; but he was the very soul of them all and their movement, as Mr. Gokuldas Parekh says pithily. It was during these memorable days that the beginnings of the present great movements and the foundation of many a great and useful institution were laid. Dadabhai and his followers opened classes for educating girls and ladies so as to suit the then sentiment of the people. He with others undertook the

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gratuitous teaching. The first girl-schools, therefore, were the result of Dadabhai and his friends' labours. You have only to look to the Directory or a Report of the Government to see to what extent the movement for female education, then so modestly started, has now progressed and is progressing. Further, Dadabhai was the leader of the men, who formed and started the famous Students'. Literary and Scientific Society, the Dnyan Prasaraka Society, the Rahnuma Mazdyan Shan, the Native General Library and the now flourishing Framjee Cawasjee Institute, and a number of other minor but equally useful and patriotic bodies. Then came into existence also the then famous and now notorious *Rast Goftar*, the first vernacular newspaper with Dadabhai as its leading spirit. These many-sided activities clearly prognosticated and proved that Dadabhai's was not and could not be the little spirit to be immured to a sedate mathematical chair. His was the energy for a people, a coming nation, not for class-rooms. So in 1855, Dadabhai left India for England as a partner in the firm of Cama & Co., the first Indian firm in England. I have a shrewd suspicion that Dadabhai was only awaiting himself of all these means and was allowing himself to be used in these business matters only that he may be enabled to commence the real work that we see him doing up to now. A different light, an exceptionally strong one, burned in his bosom, *viz*: the love of country, the formation and regeneration of what we feel in the word *India*. I refuse to think his heart was really yearning to be a

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plutocrat when he joined the Camas in their business. However, we see him installed in England, but more as the Centaur of the young and aspiring Indians of the next generation than as a merchant, more as a minister for the Indian people and their claims in England than as a mere business-man. His activities there also fully justify what I say. He started there the London Indian Society, and the well known East India Association, of which latter he was Secretary for almost twenty years. It was during this sojourn in England that the beginning of the movement to secure the Indians their proper share in the administration of India was made by him. A young Parsee friend of his, Mr. Rustomji Hirji Wadia, offered himself as a candidate for the Civil Service Examination. The Commissioners took objection to Mr. Wadia's candidature on the ground that he was average, and Dadabhai had to make a hard fight with the aid of Sir Erskine Perry and John Bright for the sake of Mr. Wadia, but all to no purpose. Dadabhai must have felt then that one Indian having been denied the right, the whole nation had a just and serious grievance. From this date commenced the war he has waged all along, and is still waging for the recognition of Indians' rights to be admitted to the highest offices. Thus we find him opening a strenuous correspondence with the India Office on the question of simultaneous examinations in England and India. He succeeded after years of exertion and personal influence in securing one step higher, and that was when Sir Stafford Northcote was to

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amend the Act, so as to open the still meagrely manned Statutory Civil Service. How grudgingly this little gift was actually delivered can be judged from the fact that the very rules under the amended Act took nine years to be framed and for the service actually to be opened for a few chosen Indians. During this interval, Dadabhai was engaged with the sincere assistance of two sturdy friends of India, Bright and Fawcett, in Parliament, in bringing to the notice of the Imperial authorities the melancholy fact that the Charter Act of 1833, and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 had pledged the British Sovereign and people to recognise Indians' rights to the highest offices provided they had merit and ability, and that the executive betrayed the solemn pledges of the Act and the Proclamation and shamefully nullified them. This agitation was crowned with the partial success of a despatch from the Secretary of State requiring the Government of India to obtain the former's sanction before any place carrying the salary of more than 200 Rs. a month was given away to a European. This movement has been kept up by Dadabhai next to the Poverty Problem of India, and we find him making it a point to urge the claims of Indians to high offices on every occasion and in every enquiry that Government vouchsafe. This continual agitation culminated at last in the now notoriously set-at-naught resolution of the House of Commons moved and carried by Mr. Herbert Paul in the year 1893. So much about the endeavours he made to secure recognition in the Indian Civil

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Service which is only a part and parcel of the Home, Military, and Imperial Naval Services. He did not fear to push the Indians' claims to the latter. Indeed, he must have felt originally quite encouraged because there was nothing to stop the Indian from becoming a naval officer. So correspondence was started with Mr, Goschen, then at the head of the Admiralty; and though Dadabhai had the laurels in the fight, the Englishman retained the field by closing the correspondence when he was driven to a corner. The arduous work which Dadabhai had been doing during all these years was fully appreciated by the Bombay people of all classes and creeds, so much so that in the year 1869 the public of Bombay including the most prominent men, without distinction of caste or colour, assembled in a large gathering and presented to Dadabhai an address glowing with grateful appreciation of all that he had done, and also a purse, as a mark of the love and esteem felt towards him by the people. This address is worth reading as the very first document ever prepared and received by the largest and most heterogenously representative section of the Indian people and presented to the first great leader out of a spontaneous feeling of love and gratitude. It is worth attention also as a brief piece of Dadabhai's biography owing to the fact that it records most of the good and useful work done by him for the citizens of Bombay, and the people of this country generally.

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The years succeeding this important event in his career, namely, the Bombay address, seem to have been the years, when the great Poverty Problem seems to have gathered shape in his thought, and stirred him (how deeply, we know) ; because, it is during these few years that we hear of his most remarkable lectures and papers dealing with the economic aspect of the country. In 1872 he took a leading part in the agitation for Municipal Reform. The next year he gave evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee. In 1874 he was again and for the last time induced to accept service, this time a very distinguished and responsible one, namely the Dewanship of Baroda, under no less a prince than the famous Mulharrao. The facts connected with this brief period of life have been published, and they prove more than satisfactorily how delicate and difficult Dadabhai's position as Dewan was, and was made, how he maintained his uprightness, dignity, sense of duty, and the good of the State of Baroda, and how also all these were fully recognised by all, including the Government of India, though not quite fittingly. After only a year Dadabhai threw up this unsuitable appointment, and returned to his independence and his patriotic mission. During his continued stay in India from 1875 to about 1885, he was engaged in municipal work as corporator, in educational work as a Fellow of the University, in journalistic work as the editor of *The Voice of India*, and in spreading that gospel of bitter truth, which Ranade calles his "greatest

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service" namely, bringing home to the world, to the Indians themselves, and the complacent English public, the poverty of India, and the danger an ignorance of this fact indicated. It was in 1876, therefore, that the two papers on "The Poverty of India" threw public light, and raised a storm of controversy which very recently a broker called Broacha attempted to renew with great antiquarian gusto. Ranade says:—"When he (Dadabhai) said that the phenomenal poverty of India must cause anxiety both to the dominant and protected classes, he said nothing but the truth. It was to the highest interests of both Great Britian and India to acknowledge that truth. It was of no use to ignore facts when those facts were proved; and in Mr. Dadabhai's case, I would assure you that there was not a single sentence or figure put down in any of his books, which did not represent mature thought and life-long study." Further on says the same great authority:—"His greatest difficulty has been in the land of his adoption to persuade people to give up their old world ideas about the riches and resources of India. It is a happy circumstance that after a struggle of thirty years the truth is being slowly recognised by process of filtration from mind to mind that the poverty of this country is phenomenal. This has been his greatest service." Now in the face of this testimony, not challenged either by broker or politician, and in the face of the testimony of men like Mr. Bryan and Mr. Russel, it is idle to wait to answer any superficial critic. In the place of the

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two modest papers written in 1876 on this subject Dadabhai has offered to the world a well-written treatise; and therefore the only answer that could be given to him and those who think with him, is what is sought not only by him and his friends but by the Congress, and a body like the Indian Famine Union—an answer, in the form of a fair commission that would thresh out the whole problem and once for all "set the wranglers free."

In 1885 Lord Reay showed his appreciation of Dadabhai by nominating him an Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. This was the year also of the birth of the Congress. It is quite familiar what part he played in launching this historical Institution. After the first Congress met and dispersed, Dadabhai again left for England to try now the one great experiment in Imperial politics—a seat for himself in the British Parliament. The constituency of Holborn accepted him as a candidate, but at the election his conservative rival was elected. Henceforward, courtship of an English constituency formed one of the principal employments in his activities in England. At the end of the year he returned to India to preside over the deliberations of the Second Indian National Congress. The next year he gave evidence before the Public Service Commission and left again for England to return to the mission of Indian interests there. As is already too well-known, his patience and perseverence and his straight forward, sweet and philanthropic character won for him and

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India at last the good will of the Central Finsbury electorate and he was returned a Member of Parliament, the first Indian or non-European to take his seat in the House of Commons. The next year he returned to India and received an unprecedented ovation as the first Indian Member of Parliament and as President of the Congress elected second time. The next important event is the Welby Commission appointed to apportion between England and India charges of military expenditure. Dadabhai was nominated a member of this Commission, the first Indian to obtain such an honour. The so-called minority report of this Commission contains the valuable contribution made by Dadabhai on the Commission's subject matter.

Now through all these years and quite up till now, Dadabhai has continued the work of the mission he undertook years ago as a youth comparatively. Indeed, it is a wonderful example of patient patriotism and of hopeful pertinacity. When we look at the new creed which is spreading in India, which roundly, and perhaps not unreasonably, challenges the British rule and the Congress alike, to show what the British Imperial Government has done during 25 years of modest "mendicancy" to deserve the faith and hope of the Indians, when we meet this creed face to face, we cannot help wondering how hopeful, calm, earnest and patient this old man of all three hundred millions of us has been and can be; and we cannot help being tempted, as the old leaders have been, to invite him to come in

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our midst and inspire the impatient and despondent of us with the hope and patience, which he has borne through all the spring, summer and winter of his whole life.

Dadabhai returns to India, therefore, at a great crisis, and with a great responsibility upon him. The Presidentship of the coming Congress, so wisely offered to him, and kindly accepted by him is much more than a mere personal honour to him. If you speak of personal honour, then there is nothing the whole Indian people would not do to please him. I have just been a witness of one of the most soul-stirring sights—the reception given to him on his landing on this soil. I was also a witness of the grandest official receptions that are organised when a Governor, a Viceroy, or a Prince arrives. I cannot describe adequately, however, the ovation which Dadabhai has got from Bombay. It was a great lesson in history and biography to pass over the route taken by Dadabhai from the Bunder to the Westrop House, especially the route which lay through Kalbadevi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum roads. Even the humble vegetables-seller had put up his "vegetables garland" to meet Dadabhai! Such being the love and affection entertained for him by the people of India, there is no doubt about his being honoured by them. But the Presidentship offered to him of the coming Congress has more in it—and that is, if I can say so, *the consultation which India wishes to have with him.* Really, Dadabhai had a serious task before him, a very onerous duty. No doubt, the

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crisis is yet *in the idea.* But it is all the same, a *crisis.* And "the consultation" is about the question whether even this *idea* should be allowed to spread; because, *the idea* or *the sentiment* is in large national political movements the "the winged seed" of a great revolutionary growth. It is thus.

So far back as 1853, Dadabhai, the Patriarch of our politics declared that all our agitations ought to be based primarily on the acceptance of British Alliance, Providential as it is called by some. He himself wrote in the preface of the memorandum submitted by him to the Welby Commission in 1897:—"In 1853 I was one of the founders of the Bombay Association, and at the inauguration *I declared my political creed of faith in the conscience and justice of the British people.*" In the fourth paragraph Dadabhai says:—"I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employment and emoluments and voice in their own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity, and good government and attachment to British rule, and the prosperity of the British people themselves." In the eighth para comes the substantial proposition:—"That it is the desire of the British people that British rule should be one of justice and righteousness for the benefit of both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Britain alone to the detriment of India, and that the financial relations

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in apportionment of charge should be as those between two partners and not as those between master and slave." These extracts contain most pithily the fundamental principles of the Congress at its foundation and even now, as also those of Dadabhai in his arduous political mission. Now put these extracts by the side of the President's address at the memorable Benares Congress and the several Resolutions passed by that body! What rapid and yet silent change has taken place and is taking place in the notions of the people can be distinctly appreciated if you but only recollect that Dadabhai rooted his great mission of the political redemption of India in "the conscience and justice of the British people;" that for more than twenty years the National Congress laboured hard at them hopefully and patiently; and also that the President of the Benares Congress denounced the so-called versatile Britisher, who held the great Mogul's Sceptre as Viceroy of the far off British Sovereign, as but the "Aurangzebe" of British rule; that the Congress that year passed a resolution almost declaring a boycott of the British! Recollect these things, and closely study the events of the great Bengal Partition agitation, and you have an idea of what *may be* the sentiment, which has *begun* to possess the minds of the people in India! Add to these the Khaparde circulars, and Mr. Bipin Pal's startling political demonstrations, and you have an idea of what Dadabhai is called upon to do! Briefly, the question raised is—is it not necessary

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to alter the policy and the ideal of the Congress" What test has the patient faith in British justice satisfied during a quarter century of public "petitioning? How can faith continue when a Curzon openly, and unabashedly declares that the Greatest of the world's Queen's message to her people and her solemn pledges are a sham farce, a political "story", and when he is allowed to deliberately trample upon the sacredest feelings of a whole nation ? Has not the Partition dispute practically raised the question whether the British authorities shall carry out measures in the teeth of a whole people's expressed dislike? How is it possible to pin one's faith in a people, who allow these things and many others to which Mr. Brayn and Mr. Russel may testify? That is the question substantially raised, it may be, by a few people, say, the "Extremists " as they are sapiently dubbed; but the fact to be noted is that the time has arrived and has been " allowed" to arrive by British statesmen when such a doubt is taken, and no less a personage than Dadabhai is called to answer and advise. Even the far off United Irish League recognises what the situation in India is and why Dadabhai is invited and has undertaken to go, when it recorded the following resolution at a send-off party to him. Mr. O'Connor, M. P., moved and carried :—"That the Irish Parliament Branch of the United Irish League of Great Britain hereby conveys its heartiest congratulations to Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee upon his election for the third time as President of the Indian National Congress and

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sincerely trusts that the forthcoming Congress will be an epoch-making one in the matter of obtaining speedy redress of the great grievances under which the Indian people suffer &c.&c."

So Dadabhai comes to preside over and guide "an epoch-making" Congress. None is fitter at this stage to advise and guide the Indian people. As Ranade said, the Congress and the whole political movement in India has only followed and run on "the tracks" laid by Dadabhai. He uttered the first political "creed" that was ever uttered in British India. He understood, and preached principles fifty years ago which today are being daily confirmed by the greatest political thinkers and worthies of the world, and he is now confronted practically with a situation which practically challenges his faith, his ideal, his principles and asks him, with all the greatest reverence and trust, what India has earned by all the sacrifice which a son like him has made, living years and years in the alien land! Indeed, the exasperating as well as suicidal indifference of the Liberals to the candidature of Dadabhai is a very great commentary on his mission there! However, India looks up to him with the trust of a child, and he, who has never disappointed any, will, it is hoped, be wisely inspired by that very Providence, which has given to India such a one as he!

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